Technical and Bibliographic Notes / Notes techniques et bibliographiques

The Institute has attempted to obtain the best original copy available for filming. Features of this copy which may be bibliographically unique, which may alter any of the images in the reproduction, or which may significantly change the usual method of filming, are checked below.

L'Institut a microfilmé le meilleur exemplaire qu'il lui a été possible de se procurer. Les détails de cet exemplaire qui sont peut-être uniques du point de vue bibliographique, qui peuvent modifier une image reproduite, ou qui peuvent exiger une modification dans la méthode normale de filmage sont indiqués ci-dessous.

- [x] Coloured covers/ Couverture de couleur
- [ ] Covers damaged/ Couverture endommagée
- [ ] Covers restored and/or laminated/ Couverture restaurée et/ou pelliculée
- [ ] Cover title missing/ Le titre de couverture manque
- [ ] Coloured maps/ Cartes géographiques en couleur
- [ ] Coloured ink (i.e. other than blue or black)/ Encre de couleur (i.e. autre que bleue ou noire)
- [ ] Coloured plates and/or illustrations/ Planches et/ou illustrations en couleur
- [ ] Bound with other material/ Relié avec d'autres documents
- [x] Tight binding may cause shadows or distortion along interior margin/ La reliure serrée peut causer de l'ombre ou de la distorsion le long de la marge intérieure
- [ ] Blank leaves added during restoration may appear within the text. Whenever possible, these have been omitted from filming/ Il se peut que certaines pages blanches ajoutées lors d'une restauration apparaissent dans le texte, mais, lorsque cela était possible, ces pages n'ont pas été filmées.

- [ ] Coloured pages/ Pages de couleur
- [ ] Pages damaged/ Pages endommagées
- [ ] Pages restored and/or laminated/ Pages restaurées et/ou pelliculées
- [x] Pages discoloured, stained or foxed/ Pages décolorées, tachetées ou piquées
- [ ] Pages detached/ Pages détachées
- [x] Showthrough/ Transparence
- [ ] Quality of print varies/ Qualité inégale de l'impression
- [ ] Continuous pagination/ Pagination continue
- [ ] Includes index(es)/ Comprend un (des) index

Title on header taken from:/ Le titre de l'en-tête provient:

- [ ] Title page of issue/ Page de titre de la livraison
- [ ] Caption of issue/ Titre de départ de la livraison
- [ ] Masthead/ Générique (périodiques) de la livraison

- [ ] Additional comments:/ Commentaires supplémentaires:

This item is filmed at the reduction ratio checked below/
Ce document est filmé au taux de réduction indiqué ci-dessous.

10X	12X	14X	16X	18X	20X	22X	24X	26X	28X	30X	32X
									✓		

Congrès International

des

AMÉRICANISTES

XVe SESSION

TENUE À QUÉBEC EN 1906

TOME II



QUÉBEC
Dussault & Proulx, Imprimeurs

1907

QUINZIÈME SESSION

DU

Congrès International des Américanistes

QUÉBEC, 1906

Congrès International

des

Américanistes

XVe Session

tenue à Québec en 1906

TOME II



Québec
Dussault & Proulx, Imprimeurs
1907

NOTES ON THE TINNEH TRIBE
OF ANVIK, ALASKA

BY REV. JOHN W. CHAPMAN (1)

I

TRADITIONS

1. — THE ESCAPE OF TWO BOYS

Two boys were shooting with the bow and arrow, and an arrow of one of them was lost. And they hunted for it, and saw a house ; and went up upon the top (and looked down through the smoke hole). Lo, down (on the floor there was a large bowl containing ice cream. And they went in and ate it. Then one hid under a stone, and the other under a log used as a pillow, and there they lay. Then (a woman) came shuffling in, and gave the bowl a kick. Who ate what was in you? said she. Right there is one of them, under the stone, and the other is under the pillow, said she. And she swallowed them, and there they were in her stomach. And one of them took out a little knife and the other produced a whetstone, and then they cut open her stomach and jumped out.

(1) The following material was collected at my suggestion by the author, who is stationed as a missionary at Anvik. The specimens here represented are in the American Museum of Natural History, New-York. The author collected a number of traditions, some of which were printed in the journal of *American Folklore*, 1903, pp. 180-185, while additional ones form the first part of this paper, the rest being taken up with descriptions of customs and ceremonials.—FRANZ BOAS.

2. — HOW THE RAVEN BROUGHT LIGHT, TO HIS OWN PEOPLE.

Once upon a time, they say, there was a great village. A large village, where there were many people. There was a beautiful woman, very, so they say, who could not be prevailed upon to marry. Her father, they say, was very rich : a rich man, whose daughter it was who would not marry. All the men of the village did their best to get her. Some of them brought wood and put it on the house. Out runs the girl. What are they doing this for, she says, and throws it down the bank and goes in again. All the men did the I'd-like-to-get-I'd-like-to-be-the-one-to-get-act, but in vain. Part of them also set her father's fish traps for him, but no ! Enough of her, said the people of that village. We made too bad a failure of trying for her, they said. At length they took other women, even the homely ones.

And people from other villages came to see her also, but it was of no use at all. Some of them went after deer ; but, no ! The villagers gave her up, saying, Enough ! Still the people from the villages up the river and down came to see her saying, I would like to be the one to get her, but in vain. Then they said, Enough. The people out on the coast, too, came to see her, and by-and-by they too said, Enough. Now, down in a kashime, beside the path, lay Raven-man : and he, Raven, sets his wits at work in the darkness. All night long he lies awake making plans. I believe that I will try too, he thinks. Meanwhile, it was dark while they were doing these things.

Then he went out, and he *did* travel. Though it was dark, very dark, and there was neither sun nor moon but only darkness, yet he went on. When he was tired he travelled both as a man and a raven. When his wings become painful he turns into a man, and when his legs hurt him takes to his wings.

By-and-by he perceived that it grew a little light, as though dawn were approaching, and at last it became as light as day, and as he flew he saw a large village where there were many people, and where it was light. Then, not far from the village, he turned into a man, and went toward the village. He went among the men, but there were so many of them that they were not aware of his presence. The people of that village took no

notice of him. Meanwhile, yonder is a great kashime with a large house standing beside it, over which a pole was set up, having a wolverine and a wolf at the end, like a vane.

Thinks the Raven, Only women who don't want to marry live in houses like that. In that house, thinks he, there is a dont-want-to-marry living; because, thinks he, at my village, too, the women who refuse to marry have houses like that. He went up to it and stood looking it over, and there came out many people going about their work and among them a woman — such a beautiful woman — who went to get some water, wearing a parka made of marten skins alone, with a ruff of deer fur of great length.

There, thought he, is the very one who refuses to marry. He considered what course to take with her; meanwhile the woman went down to get the water.

At the door of their house hangs a mat of grass. The woman is gone out of sight, down the bank. Meanwhile he ran hastily to the doorway and became a spruce-needle and fell into the meshes of the mat in the shape of a spruce needle. There he remains just so, and the woman approached the house to go in, bringing water and carrying on one side a small wooden pail of water. She lifted the mat and the spruce needle fell into the water. With it, floating in the water, she reentered the house. I will drink some water, she said, and she drank some, and with it she swallowed the spruce needle. Ugh! she said. My throat hurts inside. I swallowed some grass with it, she said. Her mother said: You should have looked into it. Is it worse? Why, no, she said, it is only a little piece of grass.

The next day, just at dawn, she went to speak to her mother. Mamma, she said, what ails me? I am sure that my belly is larger than usual. What should make it, said her mother. You are sick perhaps. No, said she, I'm not sick, but my belly is large. The next day she went again to speak to her mother. Mamma, she said, so they say; there is something moving here at my belly, like a little fish; please, said she, feel my belly here. Then she felt her belly. My daughter, said she, what is the matter with you? You are just as we are when we are with child, she said, being frightened. Why, if there have been no men with you, how is it that you

are in this condition? Why, only women who have husbands are like this, said her mother, in her fright. There is no help for it, she said, and when she felt her belly the child moved. That can be nothing but a child, she said. Then, soon she became sick, and then her mother spoke to her. You have not played with the boys, yet you are in this way, she said.

So then that child was born, and it was a boy, resembling a little raven. They washed him and put on him a nice parka. And he stares with great eyes. He looks all around, and behind his grand father there hangs something which gives a great light. What a great light there is from that shining thing hanging there!

His grandfather and grandmother cared for him, going without sleep, feeding him on deer fat only. Not only that, but the girl's many older brothers and sisters took care of him too — that little raven. He crept, then he walked, and he cried incessantly, that child. What is that bawler getting at? said his grandfather, and all his relatives said the same thing. Perhaps he has got sick, they said — [illegible] they say. Often he pointed earnestly toward the shining thing. Perhaps he is saying that he wants that, they said. Put it near him, they said. He just wants to see it, they said. And they took it and gave it to him and he stopped crying right off. At length he became quite large, and they gave it to him sometimes and then put it back in its place.

By and by he went out of doors, and whenever he came in how he cried for that thing, and they gave it to him. Even when he was very large, he still cried for it. Go on; put it on my neck, he said. Make a string for it; it will be here on my breast, he said. They put it on his neck, and he wore it at his breast and went out with it, and ran back into the woods, under the bushes.

I hope they will forget me: perhaps they will not look for me, he thinks. He flew with that big shining thing to his village, when he is tired he flies, and when his wings are tired he walks, and at last, he reaches home (1).

(1) Told by Simon's mother, who claims it has an Ingilik story. Nelson has one evidently of the same origin.

3. — THE WOLVERINE AND HER BROTHERS

Once there was a little village in the mountains, where there lived a single family of five brothers and their little sister. They got their living by hunting deer alone. They knew nothing of fishing, for they were wolf-men.

Outside the house were frames covered with numbers of deer skins—they killed so many ; and their diet was entirely of deer meat. Their sister, meanwhile, grew up to be a large girl and at length she came to the age of maturity. Her brothers then said to her : Now, whenever we go hunting, do thou not leave the house : while we are here walk around outside, and fetch the water also. Listen, Tduitdjyak, and when we are gone, said they, do not walk about outside ; for it was the season of her seclusion.

At length it came on cold weather. All winter long they lay these commands upon her, and the girl began to puzzle over it. Why do my brothers say this to me? she thought. They always tell me this, — I wonder what will happen to me if I go outside, she thought. They tell me every day, thought she ; sometime, she said to herself, I will go out. One day, her brothers went away as usual. After she had sewed a while she put her work down and went out. She went a little distance and came back to the house. Well, she thought, I've been out, and I'm all right yet. She went in and sat down, but presently she got up again and went out, and stood listening. Away in the distance she heard someone singing, and she turned back into the house. This is the reason, then, that my brothers told me this, she thought, and her heart bounded fiercely, because she was afraid.

Again she went out and listened. There *was* singing, and she heard her own name. Tduitdjyak, come ! go into the house, she heard. Immediately she went to the cache, where there were wolverine skins tied in bundles. She caught up many of the bundles and searched through them until she found an especially fine one with long fur. The white parts were also fine. This she took into the house, and wet it with hot water and stretched it, and again she went out. When she had gone

out, she looked up the path that her brothers had made, and saw five wolves. They were sitting down, and they sang,

A-yeq-ya ya-yaq-ya ho !
Tduitdjyak, go in !
A-yeq-ya ya-yaq-ya ho !

She ran in, frightened, and put on the wolverine skin, as though it were a parka, she stretched it tight around herself, but it was too short to meet at the throat, and she searched through her workbag and found a striped piece which she sewed on and when she had done this she pulled it together and it was large enough. Again she looked through her workbag, and she found some fine wolverine teeth and fitted them into her mouth.

She took off the wolverine parka, teeth and all, and ran out. She went out, and there, close by, were the wolves coming. When they saw her they sat down and began to sing again,

A-yeq-ya ya-yaq-ya ho.
Tduitdjyak, go in.
A-yeq-ya ya-vaq-ya ho.

She ran into the house and put on the wolverine parka, and put the teeth into her mouth, you may be sure, and then around and around inside the house she ran in the shape of a wolverine. The wolves rushed up to the top of the house and tore off the curtain with their teeth, while the girl kept on running around inside, as a wolverine. Finally she dashed out, through the pack, and ran up the path while they stood looking at her. Then they started in chase and gave her a close brush, while she bounded along in her fright. Now they have almost overtaken her ; but there stands a spruce tree by the side of the path — a big one.

She made a catch and climbed up. There was nothing for them to do but to circle around underneath, looking up at her. She pushed back the hood of her parka. My brothers, said she, after this, when you get any deer, wont you please leave the choice inside bits for me ! After a while they left her, and then she too came down and went away.

II

NOTES ON SHAMANISM

(INFORMATION OBTAINED MAY 5th 1903 FROM SIMON'S MOTHER GEO. YEN AND ISAAC FISHER.)

The intimation that a person is a shaman comes to him in dreams. He sees grotesque faces and hears songs, which he is able to reproduce when he is awake. Thus the Shamanisht principle resides in the community at large, and explains a remark that was made to me long ago, to the effect that they all practised shamanism a little.

If the individual has a peculiar aptitude, these visions continue, and he finally passes under the control of an outside influence. He may pass a night or two, or a whole summer in the woods, and may fast for several days together.

Meanwhile, his condition becomes the subject of general comment.

He offers proof of the possession of extraordinary powers. There is an impression current at present that the faculty is on the wane. Of old, shamans were able to cause those who were not so gifted to see fish swimming in their wooden bowls, or to show to those who looked into the palms of their hands the appearance of diminutive reindeer or other animals.

Now, they cause themselves to be bound hand and foot, and being left alone a little while in the Kashime, they soon appear unbound.

Some are invulnerable, allowing themselves to be shot, at close range; others put a running noose around the neck, protecting the skin with a towel, and when several men get hold of the rope and pull against two or three others, who have hold of his hair, the noose appears to come through the neck, and falls to the ground with the towel encircled by the loop.

There are accounts of some who have been dropped into a large vessel of boiling water, and of others who have had their heads cut off, in order that they might reappear in some unexpected place. Their character as shamans having been established, their life henceforth is not free from anxiety. The craft is by no means a brotherhood. Rival shamans stir up

hostile spirits, who make war upon some particular object of their jealousy. His children languish and die. It is the common belief that a shaman cannot escape the loss of his family. His own life is in danger from these evil influences. He hates the rival who has caused the death of his relatives, and « makes medicine » to pay them back in kind.

The Shaman, beside his ordinary relations to the community as the guardian of the public health, has other, special functions. One of these is to determine how many days the body of a deceased person shall remain unburied.

The spirit is not supposed to leave the body immediately. If the body is taken out of doors, the spirit is liable to escape prematurely, and entering into two or three of the people of the community, to be the means of causing their death. At the proper time, the shaman gives the body a slight blow with his hand, and takes away the spirit, which he deposits in some safe place for a few days, until he finally causes it to go into the person of some individual for whom it is destined, and to whom it causes no harm.

The final destination of the spirits of the shamans themselves is downwards, into « the bad water. » My informants could give me no more particular information on this point.

There is a belief that the souls of the dead go to a large village near the sources of the Yukon. It is a « happy hunting ground. » There seems to be no idea of ordinary offences against others preventing anyone obtaining an entrance there, but there is a separate place for those who have hanged themselves, where their bodies are still suspended and are blown about in the wind, which rages unceasingly. There is also a third place for the souls of those who have been killed, whether by accident or otherwise.

The souls of the shamans seem to have no portion with any of the rest.

There is a feast, called Givema, or « Masks », which is the especial feast of the shamans, but which is no longer practiced here. The grotesque masks used at this feast were probably used to represent the faces which the shaman sees when he is undergoing his novitiate, and the songs are those which he then heard, and are not sung by the people generally.

It is generally acknowledged that the power of the shamans does not extend to white men. The answer to the question why this is so, disclosed a good deal of logical consistency. Disease is regarded as a matter of spiritual influence, and white men are believed not to have souls.

III

CEREMONIES

I inquired from an old shaman in regard to the festivals of the tribe and found that almost all the customs contained in Mr. Nelson's report on the various Eskimo were used here also. The Doll festival (p. 494) exactly corresponds to a festival that was formerly celebrated here. Remarks regarding the skins of masks (Nelson, p. 293) apply also to this region, so far as my information goes. I showed to the natives the illustrations of masks published in Nelson's Report. They had no explanations for most of the masks, but commented upon some of them.

Plate xcvii, facing p. 401. The mask represents the thinking spirit of the father of the seal tribe. The square hole in the forehead is the place where the seals go down in the Fall. In the Spring, they come up through the same hole. They then dive down through the various holes on the side toward the right, and come up through the holes on the other side and swim to the shore, where two of them are represented as lying.

Plate xcix, facing p. 406. Fig. 2 represents a bubble in the ice.

Plate c, facing p. 508, fig. 3, represents the spirit of a losh, a fresh water fish similar in appearance to a codfish.

Plate cii, facing page 412. The difference in color of the wolves, as he also called them, he says to be only on account of the natural differences in color which are observed.

The three feasts of Dolls, Animals' Souls and Masks, which I name in the order of their solemnity, seem to have been the principal religious festivals here. A festival is also usually observed in honor of the dead, but as I have observed, it is given by any individual who has lost a relative during the year,

and is disposed to make a feast in consequence. (Given 1895). The festival of Dolls and that of Animals' Souls are no longer observed here. The festival of Animals' Souls is still observed upon the Chageluk, and possibly that of the Dolls also, but I have heard nothing of it.

I am disposed to think that the three feasts which I have named are borrowed from the Eskimo; for they are not kept on the Innoko River or on the Yukon above this place, as I am told. This could hardly be the case if they had come down the Yukon instead of coming up from the coast. On the Kuskokwim River, above Kolmakofsky, I know by personal observation that the men are Ingilik, speaking a dialect so nearly like that of Anvik that I can converse with them more easily than I can with the Innoko and Nulato people, who are also Ingilik. The women of that part of the Kuskokwim are commonly natives of the lower Kuskokwim, and it seemed to me that Eskimo language was more often used in the household than the Ingilik. This was true several years ago on the Kuskokwim from Kolmakofsky to Vinisale, lat. 62 N., where the Kuskokwim makes its great bend to the east. Above that point my own observation does not extend; but I have spoken with a native of those parts who used an Ingilik dialect somewhat more difficult for me to understand than the other.

IV

NOTES ON THE FESTIVAL OF MASKS

This was a representation of the ancient feast, made at Anvik, Alaska, Feb. 24, 1905.

The purpose of the feast was a thanksgiving for abundance of fish and game, with the intention of securing a further supply, by showing gratitude to the thinking spirits of the animals. The purpose of the festival is achieved primarily by making masks representing the various spirits, and figures of the animals which correspond to them, attached to the masks, and by composing songs in their honor, which are sung by dancers wearing the masks; also by the exhibition of certain insignia

which go with the masks which are essential to the feast. Other masks not essential are worn by dancers who entertain the company in separate acts. The secondary purpose of the festival—that of entertainment—is probably quite as important in the minds of the people as the first reason.

There were seven dances, of which the first and third only are considered essential. These occupied the same place on the night of the festival, and at a rehearsal given the night before. The other dances seemed merely to serve for entertainment, and their order at the festival and at the rehearsal was slightly different.

The order of the rehearsal was as follows:

I.—(essential) Qwodihlél—a dance of animals; in this instance of otters.

II.—Trîtdôxôdûnihlnégi (connected with IV); not essential, but a favorite dance.

III.—Detdó (essential)—a fish dance, in this instance, of Silver Salmon and Gull masks.

IV.—Tritdôxôdunîhlnégi—another mask, one of a pair with II.

V.—Gîdihlnîñ—the Ruffed Grouse.

VI.—Nôkâihlon,—The Woman.

VII.—Dênnâ—The Man.

There is some doubt as to the exact order on the night of the festival, and the description is therefore given in the order of the rehearsal, which is certain.

The men of the village were not able to invite the people of a neighboring village, as they desired to do, on account of the danger of infection from diphtheria. They therefore divided themselves into two parties, one of which gave the festival in honor of the other.

During the afternoon, the boys of the village amused themselves in an informal way by a masked representation of the ways of the Chechארcoes, or white men who drift down the river. I dit not witness this, but think that it could not have been very complimentary.

Shortly after dark, at 6.30 P. M., two young men put on messenger masks covering only the forehead and upper part of the face, and went the round of the village, standing in front of

each door and making a signal to notify the inmates of the house that it was time to assemble. The signal was a peculiar hissing sound followed by a cry. When all the village had been notified in this manner, the messengers entered the Kashinu, where they saluted each other with a bow, and repeated the invitation signal. The people then assembled, the men occupying the shelf where they usually sit, and the women and children sitting beneath the shelf, on the floor. The drums were suspended from the roof of the Kashinu, on the side of the room, directly opposite the entrance and within easy reach of the drummers who sat on the shelf in the middle of that side of the room. A large cloth was fastened to the shelf, beneath the drummers seats, and hung to the floor, concealing the masks, and serving as a dressing room for some of the performers.

A prominent object in the room was a stuffed seal, having a mask on its face, and a stick lashed to its belly, which extended out between the fore-flippers a few inches, and had a lighted candle on the end. This seal was suspended upon a rope stretched taut from one side of the Kashinu to the other, about half way between the entrance and the drummers' seats. It was arranged to travel back and forth during the first dance, being jerked along by strings leading to the ends of the rope, and to turn around when it had nearly reached either end. It had a very comical effect as it went hitching along in time with the measure of the song.

The Kashim was lighted by the oil lamps usually set upon the lamp stands at each side of the room, and by a row of footlights, candles fastened to sticks set straight, and extending from one lamp stand to the other, underneath the travelling seal. The room was thus divided into two parts, the half next the entrance being occupied by the guests, and the half between the footlights and the drummers' seats by the hosts. A few candles were stuck irregularly here and there about the room. The illumination was hardly sufficient to overcome the gloom of the smoke blackened interior, with its massive roof logs, or to enable one to distinguish the features of the people ranged on the shelf in reclining or sitting positions, without some difficulty; but it could not have been better adapted to throw out into strong relief the figures of the dancers and the grotesque

masks and weaving feathers and plumes which were attached to the paraphernalia or held in the hands of the dancers. The effect was heightened shadows of the dancers cast by the footlights upon the broad, tawny backs of the drums, which were held up behind the performers and a little higher than their heads, and were struck by slender splints across their surfaces.

---

1. THE OTTER DANCE

The preparations began by laying down the insignia of the otters, a representation of a pond. This was made of two slender strips of spruce, each about ten feet long, upon which were inserted feathers, representing tufts of grass, and having sticks lashed across them which were shaved, so as to represent weeds.



Upon these were laid the three other masks, with the grass circlets, about three inches in diameter, and decorated with feathers, which were held in the hands of the dancers after the insignia had been raised and exhibited. These things were laid just behind the footlights. At each end of the insignia and in front of the footlights, were placed the masks of the otter's messengers. No circlets were placed with these, the messengers dancing with gloves or with bare heads. The drums were struck and the dancers came forward and assumed their masks,

kneeling with their backs to the spectators and making sounds in imitation of the otter. They continued in this position for a few moments, the song being taken up by the drummers and others, and the volume of sound gradually increasing. No words were distinguishable in any of the songs, yet some of them have words, whose meaning can doubtless be ascertained. The dancers soon arose and took up the insignia from the floor and held it in front of them turning their heads from side to side, swinging and swaying their bodies slightly as the chant went on.

Then they laid down the insignia, and took up the circlets, which they held during the remainder of the dance. The feet were not moved. The arms and bodies were moved in unison with the central mask. The chant changed from time to time, and new motives were introduced, but to the untrained eye there was but little variety. The two messengers, facing each other at each side of the group, danced in unison with the rest, and from time to time jumped up and down and gave the cry which is peculiar to them.—The arrangement was as follows:

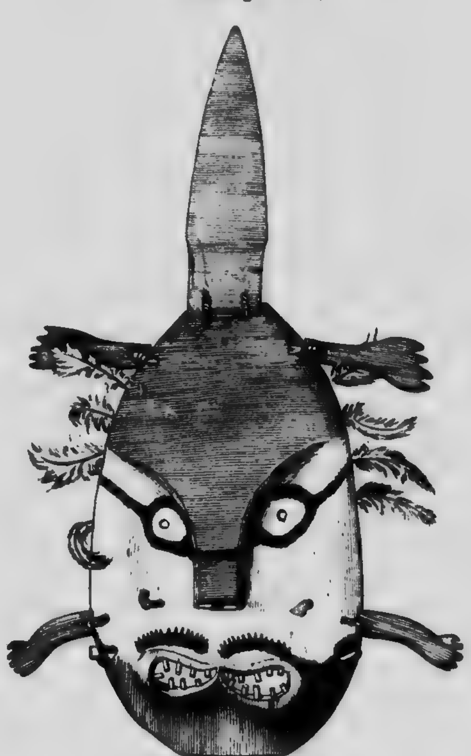


The otter masks measure 17 inches in length, including the tail, and 12 inches in width, not including the legs. The corresponding measurements of the messenger mask are 10 ¾ inches by 4 ¾ inches.

The color of the tail, legs, and upper part of the otter mask is dark drab, to represent the coat of the otter. That of the face is white, to represent the color of the belly, and that of the chin is red, to represent the flesh. The feathers are only for ornament. The spectacles are said to represent natural marks. The face is supposed to represent the thinking spirit. The messenger is colored blue, but it was explained that this was



Messenger mask



Otter Mask

only because the drab color gave out. The chin of the face is colored red.



Grass Circlet



Messenger Mask

2 — TRITDOXODUNIHLNÉGI

This mask is 13½ " x 6½ " and with No. IV illustrates a story of two men of whom the present subject was the less reprehensible.

The two were cousins, living near each other. The other (No. IV) lived upon the top of a mountain, and this one at the foot. Their mothers were cannibals. The sons attracted passers-by their dancing, or at least No. IV did so, and when they had caught them, their mother ate them. For some unexplained reason, No. II preferred plainer diet, in token of which his mouth s a squirrel skin stuffed into it, and his insi ia is a stuffed ..k, which he exhibits before he takes the circlets. He, and every other single performer, is supported by a female dancer on either side, of whom the one on his right had finger masks ornamented with deer's hair plumes, and the other a pair, ornamented with feathers. These circlets, or finger masks are 3½ inches in diameter. The deer fur, from underneath the throat, is 8 inches long. In this dance, the central mask moved from

one of the women to the other, stretching out his arms toward them, and then receding. The coloring of this mask is drab and white.

3.— THE DANCE OF THE SILVER SALMONS AND THE GULLS.

This dance was taken by a mask personating the thinking spirit of the Silver Salmon, with small figures of silver salmon suspended in holes cut through the mask, and surrounding the face in the centre, of which is said to be that of the father of all the Silver Salmon tribe. This spirit is said to laid the tribe on its annual migration, going before the body to which it belongs, and which seems to be called its canoe. When the tribe reach the bad waters of the rivers, they leave their canoes on the bars and shores of the river and go by land over the mountains, to return next year.

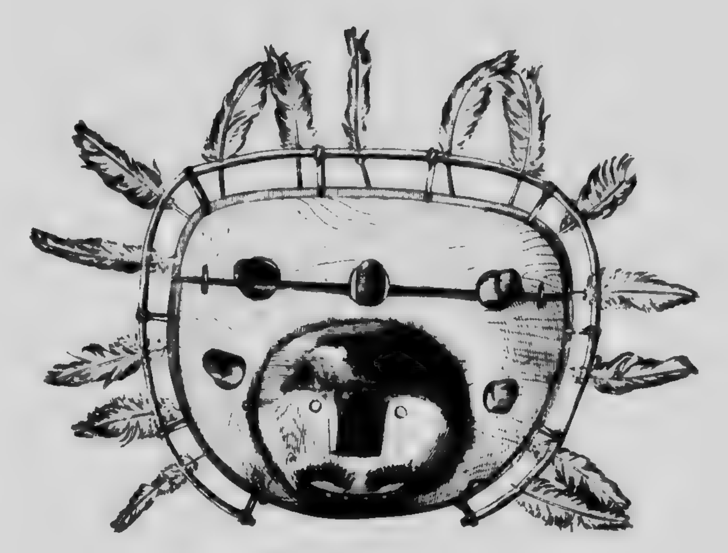
The insignia are a wooden silver salmon and a wooden dog salmon. These are represented in a kind of cage, surrounding each, and symbolizing water. The large body of the silver salmon was hollowed out and the sides were pierced with holes,

through which the light of a candle shone. The body was painted blue above and white below. The body of the dog salmon was much smaller, and was not painted, but a bit of candle was placed upon its back, where it set fire to the feathers with which the highly conventionalized water was decorated.

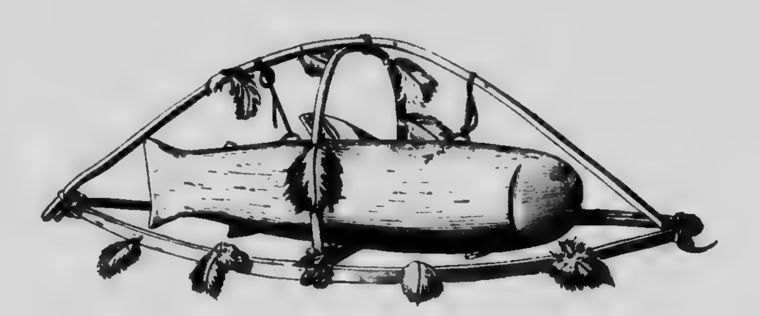
The central mask was supported on each side by a woman dancer. These women helped to hold up and exhibit the insignia. On the extreme wings were two white gull masks. These had as insignia the frames of dip nets, with small wooden fish depending from them. The insignia were 39 inches long, and wire ornamented with feathers. The Silver Salmon spirit had his messengers also, who danced in the same place as the messengers in No. I, making seven dancers in all in this number. The dance was on the same lines as No. I. The exhibition of the Insignia was followed by the dance with circlets and finger masks.



Messenger mask



Silver Salmon Spirit



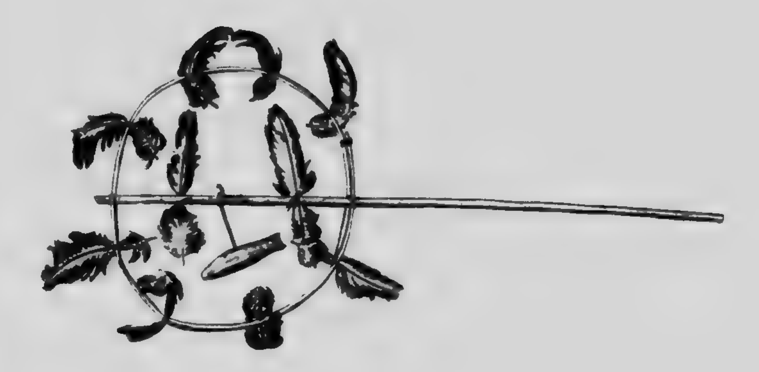
Insignia

This mask measures 18½ inches high by 22½ inches wide, to the outside of the framework. The ground is white. The face of the spirit is painted dark blue above, to represent the color of the salmon's back, and white beneath to represent the color of the belly. It is surrounded with a ring of red, and the lips and throat are also painted red, to suggest the flesh. The figures of salmon suspended in the holes are also painted blue above, and over the whole of the head. The rim surrounding the white ground is red and represents the shore line. The outside rim, held in place by lashings and ornamented with white feathers, represents water, and the feathers, represent white capped waves. The mask is made from two boards, held together by lashings of spruce roots.



Gull mask

The messenger masks were colored in blue and white bands, and the midrib was colored red. Two owl's or hawk's feathers completed the decoration.



Insignia

The Gull mask measures 15 inches in height, from breast to tail, and 22 inches from tip to tip of the wings. The color is white, with dark tips to the wings, and the face is red. A fish depends from the bill.

4. — THE SIREN

This is the companion to II, and as in that number, he is supported by two female dancers. He bears a staff, having a small figure of a marten perched on the handle, and a rabbit skin dangling from the middle. He gives a cry, which is not exactly alluring, which seems to be traditional.

His motions toward the women dancers are considerably more energetic than those of No. II, and are said to signify his horrible determination to catch them for dinner. They manifest no alarm. Then he throws down his staff and takes up the circlets, he is said to have reached the edge of the mountain on which he lives. The significance of this is not made clear.



Mask of the Siren



Staff of the Siren

This mask measures about 20 inches in length. The forehead is painted drab, with light spots, and the rest of the face is white. A red ring encircles the mouth, and a large bead hanging from the nose, and a wooden earring, complete the captivating effect.



Grouse Mask

5. — THE RUFFLED GROUSE

This was a capital representation of the motions of a grouse when drumming, done by a performer on his knees. There were two women supports, .nd a clown in grotesque mask, who crept out behind the chief performer and imitated his actions. There were no insignia to this or the two following pieces.

The colors of this mask are drab and white. The length of the mask, including tail, is 18 inches.



The Old Woman

6. — THE OLD WOMAN

This part was taken by a man, in a woman's parka. The expression of affectation made the representation very ludicrous. There were two female supports.

7. — THE OLD MAN

This was another sketch of the same kind, but played by two characters. The man is represented as sitting down to sleep on a roll of blankets. He turns first to one side, then to the other, and finally appears to be going to sleep; but he is restless and soon stirs. Then a bad dream appears, in the shape of a man with a grotesque face. The dreamer tries to drive him away, but he goes only to return, and at last settles down on the pillow, while the sleeper's back is turned.



The Old Man



The dreamer

When he discovers him he makes a more determined pass at him, and the dream finally disappears. All these motions are done to the time of the chant.

No mention has been made of two recesses, during which presents were made. The first followed part III. The hosts then brought in three huge wooden bowls of native ice cream, and a quantity of dry fish, which they distributed to the guests. The second came between parts VI and VII, and disclosed an interesting custom, that of presenting children to the people.

Three men brought forward their little children who had never been formally presented, and let them stand facing the people for a few moments. One man, besides his little daughter, brought forward a young woman, the daughter of a woman whom he had recently married, and placed her with the child, standing upon a couple of deerskins.

Another man, who had lost a child, brought forward a young woman, to represent her. In this manner they said they declared their love for the ones who were presented.

This ceremony was followed by the distribution of a number of deerskins, seal hides, fish, and a quantity of cloth. The cloth was estimated and torn up into pieces of equal length, and the distribution seemed to be a very even one. One or two men who were sick, and not able to be present, were provided for in the distribution.

The whole entertainment occupied something over three hours.

V

POTLATCH DANCE AND FEAST

One village invites another. Two young men are provided with parkas, boots and mittens, and are given the invitation sticks and sent as messengers. The sticks are tied together by a thong, and taken in charge by one of the messengers. When they reach the village to which they are sent, the thong is cut and each takes one of the sticks. They enter the Kashinu and take the seats reserved for such messengers (n-tu-chl-ûn), on either side of the entrance. They give the invitation and offer the sticks. If they are taken it signifies an acceptance of the invitation. The messengers then ask for the customary presents to be brought to the feast : a bear skin, for the entrance to the Kashinu, a curtain of seal intestines, for the smoke-hole, and perhaps other things. If this invitation is accepted they tell the guests what articles the host desire them to bring with them, for exchange as seal skins, reindeer skins, guns, cloth, or whatever may have been agreed upon.

One of the messengers remains with the guests who have

accepted the invitation. The invitation sticks are left with the invited guests. The other messenger returns, to take word of the acceptance, and to tell certain individuals among the hosts that they are expected to have ready certain specified articles for exchange with men among the guests with whom, by permanent arrangement they are paired. A man's mate is called (vwûnû-k'àdû). It is interesting to note that the function of (vwûnûk'àdû) is hereditary a man in one village may have one or several in another village, and the function may descend to a daughter as well as to a son. What will be given in return is not specified ; neither is it specified what the hosts are to return to the guests, but it is made a point of honor that it shall be more than an equivalent in value.

If there is too long a delay beyond the time appointed for the feast, on the part of those invited, a messenger may be sent to recover the invitation sticks. Then, but not until then, a new invitation may be issued to another village.

The messenger who remains with the guests accompanies them when they begin their journey, but when they have gone about half way, he goes on ahead of them, and so gives warning of their approach to the hosts. As they approach the village, successive delegations are sent out to meet them. On their arrival the guests go first to the Kashinu. There is sometimes a reception, with dancing and chanting, but this is not always observed. When they reach the village, there is great rejoicing, and greetings are exchanged. Particular friends receive one another into their house. In the evening all ensemble in the Kashinu. Presents are exchanged, and there is feasting with dancing and singing.

The ceremonies here are not of a business character, but are rather in the way of reception and entertainment.

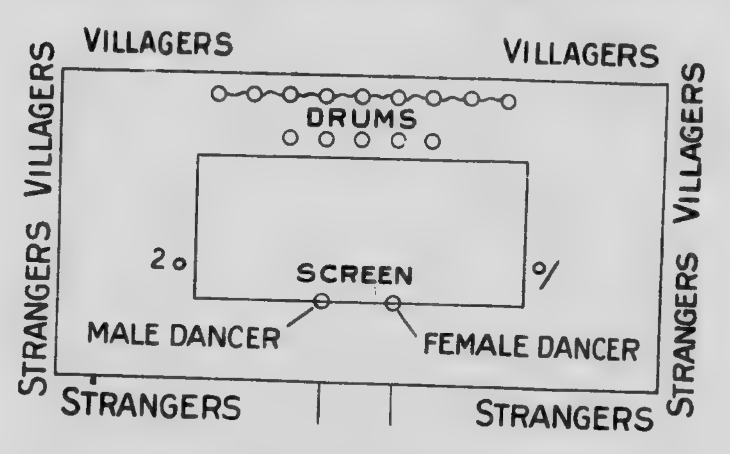
The women occupy the floor, at right and left of the entrance. Low seats are arranged on the three sides of the pit farthest from the door, and chief singers sit upon these, the directors, or masters of ceremonies sitting as indicated, in the honorable position of end men.

1° A master of the dancing, having a baton ornamented with wolf hair.

2° Another, having a baton ornamented with deer hair.

The male dancer has the insignia of the wolf, and the female dancer those of the deer.

The masters of the dancing are seated, facing the pit of the Kashinu, which is covered over with planks, so that the floor is level with that of the rest of the room. They are stripped to the waist, and have strings of beads diagonally across the chest. They beat time, *lifting* the body from the waist.



The dancers are decorated with belts and headdresses, and are clothed in their best parkas, &c. Only the upper half of the body is supposed to be in view, the rest being screened by a mat, to the height of about three feet. The feet are not moved in dancing. The arms are waved, and the body is swayed, with the head, in gestures more or less graceful, according to the personality of the performer.

VI

NOTES ON A POTLATCH AT ANVIK

(Feb. 17 and 18, 1903)

The following notes are from my personal observation, supplemented by inquiries made at the time.

The guests began to arrive a little before midday, and continued to arrive until about two o'clock. At about four, a reception was held in the kashime, at which I was not present. As reported, the guests were first fed with boiled fish, tea, &c. Then there was a presentation of dry fish to the guests.

Then the hosts gave their vwûnûk'àdû the articles which they had been asked to prepare for them.

They then dispersed, and went to drink tea and visit with their friends in the village.

Shortly after dark, the Anvik people first assembled in the kashime. At this time I was present during the whole evening. The chorus and directors took their places. (Director, Váqa-gïnnôûtçûnnûqoidäl) I did not pay sufficient attention to the opening chant to notice whether its structure was the same as that of those which, I did observe, but I am told that it was different. The typical structure of all the chants of this first night, after the entrance of the guests, which was departed from in only two of the six which I observed, was as follows.

1. — Solo, unaccompanied, short.

2. — Full chorus, introduced by three beats of the drums, first elevated, then depressed, then elevated again, and so held during the rest of the chorus, and beaten in 4–4 time. The directors meanwhile beat time with their batons, which were not only decorated with the hair of the wolf and the deer, but were carved to represent those animals. The end of the chorus was signified by the directors becoming vociferous, and the chant passed into a

3. — Solo, accompanied by the drums and the encouraging grunts of the directors.

4. — The three beats of the drums introduced the Full Chorus.

5. — Antiphonal, without drums. The directors began,

the chorus responded once, then the voices of the directors and the chorus blended.

6. — Full Chorus.

7. — Antiphonal, as before.

8. — Full Chorus, ending with caws, in imitation of a crow.

This order was departed from in two instances. The last chant stopped at the end of the second Full Chorus, and the last but three added to the full order nos. 3 and 8, perhaps to give opportunity for a dancer to finish. The dancer entered, whenever observed, during the chorus numbered 6.

The words were mostly unintelligible to me, but by inquiry I learn that the chants which precede the entry of the guests are different from those which come afterward, and that they consist of an alternation of solo and chorus; also that in all the solo marked the 3 singer pleases his own fancy, often satirizing some one present, whom he dislikes.

The numbers 5 and 7, on the other hand, have strictly to do with the order of the feast. In the first chant after the entrance of the guests, they consist of requests for the customary bear-skin and curtain, for the kashime.

In the remaining chants, they specify the articles which are to be furnished on the part of the guests, and of which they have been already notified by the messengers, and which, in fact, they have brought with them.

The general programme of the evening was as follows.

1. — Assembly of hosts in the kashime, soon after dark, at about seven o'clock.

Singing is begun, but not the ceremonial singing of the regular order. As already stated, it consists of alternation of solo and chorus.

2. — A few small presents were given out to different individuals among the hosts, by their Vwûnèkhádû, who where among the guests still remaining on the outside of the kashime. The presents were sent in and distributed by a man designated for the purpose, who made a short speech with each. Among the presents were a towel, a looking-glass, a bar of lead, a red handkerchief, &c.

3. — Song of the guests, standing outside the door. « We have come to— » (Different stages of the journey are named);

" finally we have come to Anvik. We will have rabbit soup ; we will have tea ; we will have duck :" (Specifying the things which the vwûnûkhádû had been asked to prepare for them.

4. — Entrance of the guests. They seated themselves, and then several of them were presented with various articles of food but *not* the things which they had been singing about.

5. — A series of chants concluded the ceremonial part. All these had the same structure, already given in full. N 3 was varied in each, in the words, but not in the tune, and the same was true of nos 5 and 7. In the first of the series the words of 5 were, Dâstlókô neyódtû, qoîtdágîtóihltciç (When Dastloko comes, the (bearskin) will be put in place.) The name of the one presenting the bearskin is given. In this instance it was a little girl, who danced while this chant was in progress. The words of 7 were the same, the name of the person presenting being changed, reference being had to the curtain of seal gut.

In the second of the series, the drums are mentioned n 5 with the name of the person presenting them. " — neyodtu crors " (When — comes, the drums.) and in 7, the words are " — yi tlîhl tóihltse. " (" — will make the string " *i e* of the drum).

In the following songs of the series, the various presents prepared by the guests for general distribution are named in the same manner, with the names of the men presenting them. As each man's name is called, he has the right to come out and dance ; but only the good dancers avail themselves of the privilege.

6. — After this series of chants is over, the drums are given to the strangers, who sing and dance, according to their own fancy. In this instance a dance was performed by four women.

Second day. — I was not present in the afternoon, when I understand presents were made by three of the hosts to all of the guests, but without singing or other ceremonies. I was present when the people assembled in the evening.

1.—The guests who had vwûnûknádû made them presents, in return for those that they had asked for and received. These presents consisted of flour, cloth, traps, &c.

2 — The guests brought in the articles which they had been asked to prepare, and heaped them up in the middle of the room, when they were distributed to the hosts, everyone receiving

his share. The presents exchanged during this feature and the next were valuable articles ; laphtach, flour, cloth, deerskins, guns, &c. Before the division took place, the guests gave an exhibition dance.

3. — The hosts went out to prepare the presents which they proposed to give in exchange, while the guests took their places in the seats of the chorus, and sang to the accompaniment of the drums. The singing was simpler in character than on the first evening, and consisted for the most part, of solo and chorus, once or twice repeated.

4.– The hosts brought in their presents during the progress of these chants. I left at this point, but I say that they were far more numerous and valuable than those of the guests. I was told that the guests would go out for more goods after the distribution had been made, and that the hosts would take them singing, and that this would conclude the feast.

DIFFUSION OF CULTURE
IN THE PLAINS OF NORTH AMERICA

PAR CLARK WISSLER
Curateur de l'American Museum of Natural History, N. Y.

There is a large geographical area in North America characterized in former times by the presence of the buffalo. While the buffalo did sometimes live in the forest, he was best adapted to the open, grassy plains between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains, so that leaving out the extreme distribution, we may define the buffalo area as extending from the Rio Grande and the Gulf of Mexico on the south ; to the Upper Saskatchewan, Lake Winnipeg and the source of Mississippi on the north ; the Mississippi River on the east ; and the Rocky Mountains on the west. Bearing in mind that there was in former times a fringe extending around this area, we have defined in a general way the buffalo area of North America. Geographicaly, this area is characterized by prairies and treeless plains. There are no true forests within its limits. Yet the banks of the streams flowing to the south and east are usually bordered by cotton-wood trees, while the foot hills of the mountains to the west and south are marked by scattered groups of cedar and pine.

When the ethnography of north is considered, we find the same area to be the home of a people presenting a distinct type of civilization, seemingly correlated with the distribution of the buffalo and of the open, grassy plains. The characteristics of this plains culture, in contrast to that of other parts of America may be stated as follows :

1.—The almost complete dependence upon the flesh of the buffalo for food : the curing of this flesh and afterwards pounding it fine and strong in bags known as parfleches.

2.—The almost exclusive use of a tent, made of buffalo skins stretched around a conical frame-work of poles. This tent is generally known as a tipi. In formal gatherings, these tents are arranged in a large circle known in ethnological literature as the «camp circle.»

3.—The use of the dog travois for the transportation of tents and personal property and later the adaptation of the same instrument to the horse. The only water transportation typical of this area was by raft or the bull-boat, used exclusively for ferrying.

4.—The almost entire absence of weaving, either of cloth or of basketry and the very limited use of pottery. The chief industry of the women was work in skins.

5.—The use of the circular shield, made of buffalo skin, the elaborate spreading head-dress of eagle feathers, and the decorated shirts, usually fringed with hair, characterized their military life.

6.—The ceremonial organization and religious life was characterized by the Sun Dance, the worship of the Buffalo, the medecine-bundle and military societies having a progressive relation to each other.

7.—The decorative art, confined almost exclusively to painting upon rawhide and embroidery in quills or beads, is peculiar in the use of a few rectangular and triangular designs for the composition of complex figures.

While there are other facts of culture, peculiar to the Plains Indians, the foregoing are sufficient to demonstrate the individuality and distinctive character of their civilization. The interesting ethnographical problem arises from the fact that we have decided uniformity in the culture of this whole geographical area in opposition to the existence of many different tribes presenting several physical types and linguistic stocks. The significance of this, however, arises from the fact that several of the linguistic stocks found within the Plains area are relative small groups detached from the main parent stocks, occupying other parts of the continent and possessing different forms of culture. Even the Siouan group confined almost entirely to this area, is believed to have been at one time a forest people residing on the Atlantic coast. Now, since we find, or did

find at the time of discovery this distinct type of Plains culture pervaiding these different groups of people, an interesting problem presents itself: Whence came this type of civilization and which tribes were chiefly responsible for its development and diffusion throughout the area?

As a beginning it seems best to consider the Indians of this area in three groups: (a) the Indian tribes of the Missouri, (b) those of the Rocky Mountains and plateaus, (c) those of the Great Plains.

According to the information at hand, the Indians living along the Missouri as far up as the bend in North Dakota resided in permanent villages composed of earth covered lodges. The bark, reed and birch bark covered lodges of the Algonkin peoples of the region west of the Great Lakes were known to some of the eastern Siouan tribes. The Missouri region was visited during the period of 1800-1840 by a number of careful observers whose journals contain a great deal of important information as to the material culture of the different tribes (1). An examination of these journals indicates the following:

1.—That these people lived in permanent villages, usually in earth lodges.

2.—That they cultivated maize and a few other plants.

3.—That for food they depended upon the hunt rather than upon the produce of their fields.

4.—That their formal hunting season was in the spring and autumn at which time they moved out upon the plains, lived in tipis, used the camp circle and maintained an organization for the regulation of the hunt.

We see in this the implication that the Missouri River tribes presented many of the outward characteristics of the agricultural tribes of the eastern wooded areas. Their depen-

(1) Edwin JAMES, *Maj. S. H. Long's Expedition* (London, 1825).
Elliott COUES, *History of Expedition of Lewis and Clark*, (New York, 1893).
John BRADBURY, *Travels in the Interior of America*, (London, 1819).
Maximilian PRINCE OF WIED, *Travels in North America*, (London, 1843).
Geo. CATLIN, *North American Indians*, (London, 1848).

dence upon the buffalo for food appears as an acquisition and not as the primary means of sustenance, though all writers of the time agree in that the flesh of this animal was at the time of their observations the main food. The usual procedure seems to have been desultory hunting at all times of the year, but after the maize was harvested it was usual for the whole village to move out upon the plains and engage in an organized buffalo hunt. At such times the people lived in tipis and used the characteristic camp-circle. Thus we find in the Missouri River Indian a double culture, that of an agricultural sedentary Indian and that of a roving hunter, or two phases of culture practised by the same tribe.

Leaving the Missouri River and passing over to the Rocky Mountains and western plateau region we find stretching from north to south the Flat-Heads, Nez Percés, and the various Shoshone tribes (1). These people also hunted the buffalo according to the accounts of travelers. They differed from the Missouri River Indians in several particulars. As a rule they lived in shelters of brush, though the tipi was not unknown among them. Agriculture was not practised except in the south where the culture dwindle into that of the pueblo dwelling Indians. Their vegetable food consisted of seeds and roots. While the buffalo may have been abundant in certain parts of the great area west of the main range of the Rocky mountains, the accounts of explorers agree in that the Snakes, Bannock and Nez Percés made regular hunting trips to the plains east of the range.

Franchère says of the natives of the Upper Columbia, « they pursue the deer and penetrate even to Missouri, to kill buffalo, the flesh of which they dry, and bring it back on their horses, to make their principal food during the winter. These expeditions are not free from danger; for they have a great deal to apprehend from the Black-Feet, who are their enemies and as this

(1) Gabriel FRANCHÈRE, *Narrative of a Voyage to the Southwest Coast, etc.*, (New-York, 1854), p. 268.
Elliott COUES, *Lewis and Clark Expedition*.
CLARK, *Sign Language*.
Edwin JAMES, *Maj. S. H. Long*, etc.

last tribe is powerful and ferocious the Snakes, the Pierced-noses or Sha-ap-tins, the Flat heads, etc., make common cause against them, when the former go to hunt east of the mountains. They set out with their families and the cavalcade often numbered 2000 horses. When they have the good fortune not to encounter the enemy, they return with the spoils of an abundant chase, they load a part of their horses with the hides and beef and return home to pass the winter in peace. Sometimes, on the contrary, they are so harassed by the Blackfoot, who surprise them in the night and carry off their horses, that they are forced to return light-handed, and then they have nothing to eat but roots all the winter. "

In this case we also find a group of tribes with the habit of periodical roving in the buffalo country. From such evidence as we possess, it appears that the Snakes and the Nez-Percés partially adopted the tipi and the camp circle as a result of their experience on the Plains.

The writings of 1800 and the few succeeding years give notice to a number of tribes presenting the characteristics of true nomadic hunters roving north and south over the Great Plains between the two population areas discussed in the above. This group includes the Blackfoot, Assiniboine, Crow, Arapaho, Cheyenne, Kiowa, Commanche, and the Dakota. The Commanches are generally spoken of as the only Shoshone group that spent its entire time upon the Plains. Associated with them were the Kiowa, the Arapaho and the Cheyenne. This affiliated group was disposed to spend its winter in the south and wander toward the upper Missouri in the summer. In the north, between the Saskatchewan and the upper Missouri, was the Slave group, comprising the Blackfoot and a few affiliated tribes, the Plains Cree and the Assiniboine. These were also wanderers, living in tipis and pursuing the buffalo. Between these were the Crow and the roving divisions of the Dakota. There seems to be no evidence that the tribes of the Great Plains lived in anything other than tipis. The Tetons (Dakota), however, have a tradition that they retired in winter to huts among the cotton-wood groves skirting the streams. Thus, we find in the tribes ranging over this central area the most accentuated characteristics of a Plains people.

At this point it seems safe to note a few probabilities. The natural assumption would be that this central group of true Plains Indians represents tribes that gradually abandoned their permanent villages and sedentary habits for the buffalo chasing life of the plains. Students of the Siouan stock are quite agreed that the original home of these people was east of the Mississippi.

There is reason to believe, that when they first struck the Missouri they were an agricultural people and little by little and for various reasons yielded to the temptation to roam on the plains. For example the Ponca are spoken of as follows :

« They formerly lived, like the Omahas, in clay huts, at the mouth of the river, but their powerful enemies, the Siouxs and Pawnees, destroyed their village, and they have since adopted the mode of life of the former, living more generally in tents made of skins, and changing their place from time to time. They plant maize, which they sell to the Sioux, but they had neglected to cultivate their grain for about three years, and obtained it from the Omahas. » (1)

In some cases the change may have been radical. We have good evidence that the Cheyenne came down from the Red River of the North about 1750 after a period of friendship with the Dakota and became affiliated with the Arapaho and the Tetons (1). Before this time their culture was probably similar to that of the Ojibway among whom they resided, yet at 1800 we find them presenting all the characteristics of Plains culture. In a somewhat similar manner the Arapaho must have proceeded them in breaking away from the main body of Algonquin people to the northeast. On the west the Commanche seem to have been the only Shoshone tribe which at this period lived entirely upon the Plains (2).

This moving out upon the plains must have been influenced by the introduction of the horse. Indeed, it is difficult to see how the central group, as noted above, could have followed

(1) Maximilian PRINCE OF WIED, cf. p. 137.

(2) Elliott COUES, *New Light on the Early History of the Greater North-west* (New-York 1897).

G. THWAITES, *Early Western Travels*, Vol. v, p. 139.

Edwin JAMES, *Maj. S. H. Long*, etc.

their roving life without this animal. Once provided with horses, the more sedentary tribes on the Missouri would be tempted more and more to spend their summers on the hunt to the final abandonment of all sedentary pursuits. Such a change would destroy the arts of agriculture and pottery and curtail the textile arts. Unfortunately we have no information as to the ethnic conditions in this area before the introduction of the horse and can only assume from certain remote and obscure hints that this was one of the chief factors in the development of the Plains type of 1800. Could it be proven that the horse was the chief factor in this development, the Commanche and the Pawnee who were nearest the Spanish settlements must be regarded as the probable pioneers in the development of Plains culture.

The most striking characteristics of the material culture of the Plains are the tipi and the camp-circle. What group originated the tipi is unknown, but we will hazzard the guess that it either originated in the area as an adaptation to necessity or was introduced in cruder form from the north. As to the camp-circle there can be little doubt but that it originated within the area. Yet there is no basis for any assumption as to what tribe first evolved it. In general, there seems to have been an uninhabited area in the Great Plains bordered on the east and southwest by a population given to sedentary agricultural pursuits and on the west by a non-agricultural people with a disposition to roving and fishing. On the east there appears a migration of agricultural tribes into the area, following the Missouri and other tributaries of the Mississippi. About 1800 these various tribes had already thrown off, as it were, certain groups into the Great Plains where they became perpetual rovers, living upon the buffalo. The literature noted above enumerates instances of the gradual breaking away of some sedentary tribes to follow the ways of their nomadic neighbors. Similar examples can be given for the tribes to the westward. The general suggestion seems to be that in so far as the Plains Indians are a buffalo using people and have a culture dependent upon the same, their type of civilization is of recent origin and developed chiefly by contact with Europeans. Upon this assumption it appears that the peopling of the Plains proper was a recent phenomena due in part to the introduction of the

horse and the displacement of tribes by white settlements. The solution of this problem must depend in part upon research following the methods of archæology.

So far as we have concerned ourselves with the material culture of the Indians of the Plains and while they manifest a striking individuality in this respect, their distinctive character is even more accentuated in their immaterial culture. In contrast to that of the surrounding tribes, their ceremonial organization is spectacular and objectively formal. The love of show and parade expresses itself in costume, social formalities and military evolutions. It is suggestive to note that American artists, interested in the Indian, choose their subjects almost without exception from the Plains tribes. Among the features that in whole or in part characterize the more immaterial culture of the Plains area are the Sun Dance, a series of societies for men, the use of a circular shield as a medicine object, the worship of the buffalo and the almost complete absence of a clan organization.

Most of the data available for a comparative study of the Sun Dance has been published within the past fifteen years and pertains chiefly to the roving plains tribes (1). The older accounts give the general features of the Sun Dance as practised by the Missouri Indians, but unfortunately they do not give the essential details. Some of the characteristics of this ceremony as practised by the roving Plains tribes are the erection of the circular structure of poles in which the ceremony is held, the initiation of the ceremony by the vow of some individual, the use of a bundle containing sacred objects pertaining to the ceremony and the raising of a center pole bearing offerings to the sun. The tribes among whom these features are common, as indicated by the data available are the various divisions of the Arapaho, Cheyenne and Blackfoot. There is some reason for believing that the northern divisions of the Shoshone practised the Sun Dance with some of these features. In former times the torture feature, described by Catlin and others as observed among the Indians of the Missouri, was also a part of the ceremony among the tribes just mentioned. It will be noted

(1) George A. Dorsey, *Publications of the Field Museum of Natural History.*

that the Crows, Minetarees, and Dakotas, all of which were roving tribes, are not included in the above. These together with the Poncas made use of another form of Sun Lodge, consisting of a centre pole surrounded by a circular screen of brush. While the available published accounts for these tribes are not so complete as those for the preceeding, they suggest a relatively greater importance attached to the torture feature and the absence of a bundle of sacred objects. The Sun Dance of the Mandans may be included in this group, though with them the ceremony seems to have been held in a large earth covered lodge.

In a general way, it seems that with respect to the type of Sun Dance there are two groups of tribes, an eastern or a predominatingly Siouan group, a western or a predominatingly Algonkin group. The Shoshones seem to have taken little interest in the ceremony. The Commanche in particular seem never to have practised it. Thus its distribution is restricted to a relatively small area and the writer is inclined to the opinion, that the Cheyenne or the Arapaho played the chief part in the distribution of the ceremony among the roving tribes. The form of the Sun lodge differs slightly for the Arapaho of the north and south. Those of the north have an opening in the cross poles facing the east (1). A similar opening is found among the Blackfoot, and the Gros Ventre. The ceremony as performed by both divisions of the Arapaho bears greater similarity to the ceremony as practised by the Cheyenne than to that practised by the Blackfoot. Also while the outward or objective aspect of the ceremony of the Blackfoot is similar to that of the Arapaho and Cheyenne, its subjective aspects are in many ways different. From these observations, the writer is disposed to suggest that the Blackfoot acquired the Sun Dance from the Gros Ventre, a division of the Arapaho. While the Gros Ventre had the essential cultural characteristics of the Arapaho, they were at the time of discovery and for many years preceeding affiliated with the Blackfoot.

From the data at hand it seems impossible to make a

---

(1) From field notes of expeditions for the American Museum of Natural History.

suggestion as to what tribes were responsible for the distribution of the Sun Dance among the eastern group. There is one interesting fact, however, the Cheyennes formerly lived among the Indians of the Missouri and later with the Tetons (Dakota) and the Arapaho. It is possible that they first carried the Sun Dance to the wandering tribes of the Plains, but it seems equally probable that the Arapaho who preceeded them may have carried it.

Another feature of the Plains culture is the organization of the males into societies that seem to hold a progressive relation to each other. The military functions of these organizations are perhaps the most important. The early accounts of the Missouri River group mention the existence of such organizations and note that one of their chief functions was the regulation of the buffalo hunt. Our information is not sufficient to determine whether the progressive age relation noted above was as widely diffuse as the mere functions of these organizations, we do know that among the Arapaho, Gros Ventre and Blackfoot they had this characteristic and that the names and regalia of these organizations have much in common ([1]).

While the regalia of these societies among the Cheyenne bears a close resemblence to that used by the Arapaho and Blackfoot, it differs from that of the Arapaho, Gros-Ventre and Blackfoot more than their respective regalia differ from each other. As in case of the Sun Dance we find the Gros Ventre to be the apparent link between the Blackfoot and the Arapaho. The Arapaho seem to have taken the lead in the distribution of this ceremonial feature among the group of roving, or Great Plains tribes. In the eastern groups such societies are noted by early writers and mention made of beliefs that such organizations had been handed about from one tribe to another ( ).

From this it would appear that such organizations may have originated among many different tribes and that no one tribe is responsible for their origin or distribution. In a few less important ceremonies we find illustrations of what may have

(1) A. L. KROEBER, *The Arapaho*, (Bull. American Museum of Natural Hist.)

(2) Elliott COUES, *History of Lewis and Clark Expedition*, p. 96.

been the manner of spreading culture in the Plains. For example among most of the Plains tribes there is an organization that seems to have social rather than religious functions. This Society is known as the Omaha, Crow, Grass dance, Hair-parters, etc., but practically all of the tribes agree in the tradition that it originated with the Pawnee. Many of these traditions are specific. The Dakota claim to have received it from the Arapaho and passed it on to the Blackfoot about 1883 (1). While these statements must be taken with some allowance it is evident that this ceremony passed from one tribe to the other. Such transference must have occurred many times in the past. The rapidity with which the Ghost Dance religion passed over this area is another example of what could occur.

The claims of the Plains Indians is that all such organizations originate as the dream or vision of an individual and to justify this a formal origin myth is narrated. The peculiar idea about all ceremonial objects and their power is that in the same manner as they were given to a single individual in a dream they can be transferred to other persons. This transfer feature is common to most of the Plains tribes and furnishes a suggestion as to a principle of culture diffusion. In the same manner as illustrated in the foregoing, medicine bundles and their formula have been transfered from one individual to another and thus from tribe to tribe. The preceeding discussion is bringing us to the conclusion that no one group of people on the Plains can as yet be set down as the originators of Plains culture. There seems to have been a constant giving and taking until the whole area reached a general level of uniformity, bearing important differences, it is true, but differences that seem to be normal tribal variations rather than distinctive characteristics. For one thing we need a study of the Commanche and other south western tribes.

The ceremonial transfer of medicines and rituals is a matter of considerable importance in any discussion of the spread of culture in the Plains. In fact such transfer may be taken as the principle of diffusion. In the conception of this transfer

(1) Information from field notes of expeditions for the American Museum of Natural History.

we find the motive that led to the ready diffusion of specific ritualistic formulas among the various linguistic stocks. The individual who acquired a medicine new to his tribe enjoyed the prestige of a prophet and a area. This would certainly stimulate the transfer of such formula. This principle of diffusion is sufficient to account for the general agreement in the form of the various ceremonies practised by the Plains Indians.

In such a discussion the question naturally arises as to why this culture did not spread into other geographical areas as readily as it diffused throughout the Plains. There was no bond of language between the tribes of the area, as a whole, so that in this respect they were as remote from each other as from the tribes living outside. They were at war with each other, also. Even the various divisions of the Siouan stock were often hostile to each other. Notwithstanding this condition of tribal anarchy in which the various individual tribes were disposed to regard each other as enemies, the elements of Plains culture seemed to have reached all the tribes adopting the buffalo hunting life. Further the early literature of this region indicates that during the period from 1750 to 1840 there were certain groups the tribes of which were friendly to each other. These groups may be considered as follows: —

1. — The Slave group, consisting of the Blackfoot, Sarcee and the Gros Ventre.

2. — A Siouan Algonkin group, consisting of the various divisions of the Assiniboines, the Plains Cree, and the western divisions of the Ojibway.

3. — The Algonkin Shoshone group, consisting of the Cheyenne, Arapaho, the Kiowa and the Commanche.

4. — The Mandan group, consisting of the Mandans, Minnetarees, Crows, and perhaps the Flatheads.

The above is not intended to be complete, but have been compiled from statements in the literature of the time, and is introduced here as a suggestion of a condition conducive to the diffusion of culture. In the above list it will be noted that there are two groups among the roving Plains tribes, and there is reason to believe that the Gros Ventre, as a division of the Arapaho were the go-between for these groups. In the same way it appears that the Cheyenne, or at least the northern

Cheyenne, passed back and forth between the southern group of wandering tribes, the Tetons and the Mandan group. Intertribal commerce, stimulated by European products, was also an important factor in bringing remote tribes together. Any one familiar with the literature of the time knows it was usual to find in every tribe individuals skilled in the languages of the surrounding tribes. It was not unusual for an individual to wander away and reside for a time among other tribes, learning their languages and ceremonies. For example, the rituals and medecine bundles among the Blackfoot often state that once a man went to live with a distant tribe and that when he was about to return his host gave him a bundle and taught him the rituals and songs. These visiting students, as they may be termed, must have been a powerful factor in leveling the culture of the Plains area. On the whole, in the culture of this area we have a good illustration of how a people in a definite geographical area may in spite of hostilities and great linguistic differences give and take in culture until a definite type is evolved.

It is possible that the failure of the Plains culture to find its way into other areas is due to the lack of affiliations with the surrounding peoples. On the west the Plains tribes were cut off by the mountains from California and the Pacific Coast, while on the east in 1800 the hand of the white race was supreme, crushing out the culture of the woodlands and forcing the remnants of eastern tribes out into the Plains. However, this reinforces the former suggestion that the true Plains culture is of recent origin. It may be assumed that the material culture of the Plains Indians was determined indirectly by the buffalo, in that food habits were adopted by some one group of Indians which habits were imitated by the others in learning to subsist upon the buffalo and later to propigate and use the horse. The psychological fact that man acquires habits by imitating the objective aspects of the performances of his fellows will readily account for the diffusion of many traits of culture within a definite geographical area. From this point of view, it is not strange that the objective aspects of Plains culture failed to reach the non-buffalo hunting tribes. In case of the less material culture the accentuated conception of the transfer of a ceremonial object

with all the rites and privileges pertaining thereto, both human and superhuman, will readily account for the great similarity in ceremonies and myths.

THE CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE PLAINS INDIANS OF NORTH AMERICA

PAR A.-L. KROEBER
Professeur aux Collèges affiliés, San Francisco, Col.

The innumerable ceremonies and religious practices of the Plains Indians, as of most other uncivilized people, may be divided into two great classes : those that are distinctively public or tribal and those that are essentially personal. Ceremonies whose hold is primarily in custom and tradition belong to the first class, however restricted control of them, or participation in them, may be. On the other hand, everything shamanistic is necessarily more or less private or personal, for the essence of shamanism is the direct reception of supernatural power, or communication with the supernatural, by a supernaturally gifted individual.

The public or tribal observances of the Plains tribes may be further subdivided. There is first an important class of ceremonies related to fetishes. These fetishes, which are of different kinds, but are usually kept in bundles, are variously regarded by the Indians as belonging to the tribe, a clan or division, a family, or an individual. In spite of the fact that their ownership may thus be restricted, and the circumstance that the ceremonies connected with them are usually jealously guarded and secret, these fetishes and the observances attendant upon them are almost invariably of tribal import. Second, there is a miscellaneous class of ceremonies and dances. Some of these relate to war. Some are largely of the nature of social amusements. Others are of a more distinctly religious character.

None of these need be further considered here. Third, there is a class which is in some respects the most important of all. This third class comprises two groups. One of these groups consists of the well-known Sun-dance. The other comprises a connected series of ceremonies performed by societies or associations of persons. These bodies almost always have functions other than their religious ones, but never lack the ceremonial side. The societies do not relate to supposed experiences of the individual with the supernatural, as do so many religious societies of other peoples, but are held together primarily by the circumstance of admission or membership itself, the principal factor in determining which, besides a certain payment, seems to be age.

The Sun-dance has long been generally known, and there are some excellent older accounts of its practice by several distinct tribes. To these have recently been added a series of special studies by ethnologists, so that now definite information as to the ceremony is available regarding a number of tribes, such as the Mandan, Western Sioux, Blackfoot, Arapaho, Cheyenne, Kiowa, and Ponka. From these studies it is clear that the ceremony varies enormously in detail, even among closely related tribes, but that on the other hand even its most diverse forms have much in common and justify their being spoken of under one name. There is probably not an important feature of the ceremony as practiced by any tribe, of which there is not at least a vestige in the form of the dance practiced by other tribes. At the same time it is very apparent that externally similar features of the dance are often charged with entirely different meaning among two or more tribes. Everywhere the Sun-dance is quite distinct from the series of society ceremonies. It is not connected with any membership, has no prerequisites to participation, such as age or purchase, is not directly connected into a system with any other observances, and finally, is always in intent and practice purely a ceremony. In the religious observances of the societies, on the other hand, the organization frequently overshadows the ceremonies. In the Sun-dance, the dancing lodge and its parts are of the highest importance and the individual paraphernalia of the participants of little significance. In the society-ceremonies, the lodge is much less important, but the paraphernalia or regalia of the

participants are pre-eminent, usually reflecting the internal organization of the society, its functions, and its relation to the other societies in the series.

The entire series of society ceremonies is very much less known among the Plains tribes than is the Sun-dance. The subject is complex. The societies were important socially as well as ceremonially. Their organization has in many cases rapidly disappeared before civilization, or, where it survives, its dances are no longer practiced. The Sun-dance is a comparatively simple, straightforward, public, and spectacular ceremony, completed within a few days, and, except for its esoteric and symbolic portions, readily seen and largely understood by an ordinary observer. To obtain a knowledge of the series of societies and their ceremonies in any tribe, and to determine their true place in the life of the people, however, requires long and careful study. In consequence, even the bare scheme of organization of these societies is not known among some tribes that almost certainly possess them. In other cases the information of two or more observers varies, or when compared with the information obtained among other tribes is on its face almost certainly imperfect. There is, however, an early contribution to the knowledge of the subject, valuable so far as it goes, from Prince Maximilian of Wied, Hayden, and Clark in his *Sign Language*, have assembled brief information of a wide range. Later more special studies by Mooney, Grinnell, Dorsey, and others have brought together a body of information which is chiefly important for revealing the richness of the field and the almost utter lack of knowledge which still exists regarding the subject but from which certain general conclusions are deducible.

The tribes among which this particular form of ceremonial organization is known to have existed in greater or less development, are the three Village tribes of the upper Missouri : the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara : the Crow ; the Western Sioux ; the three Blackfoot tribes ; the Arapaho and Gros Ventre ; the Cheyenne ; the Kiowa ; the Kiowa-Apache ; and probably the Selish Flathead. There are almost certainly other tribes, such as the Sarcee, which also possessed this organization, and others, such as the Omaha and Ponka and Sac and Fox, which possessed approximations to it. Clark affirms and Mooney denies that it

existed among the Comanche. Certain religious societies occurring among s... ae of the adjacent Plains and Prairie tribes, such as the Omaha and Ponca, are essentially of a different nature, and the tribes possessing only such societies cannot be included among those which have developed the form of organization here considered. Among the Omaha, for instance, these religious societies consisted of persons in supernatural communication, either privately or by means of t' eir initiation into the society, with some object as power, such as the bear, the buffalo, or the horse. They are therefore, whatever other features they may possess, primarily associations of shamans, and are at bottom thoroughly different in nature from societies whose membership was dependent upon age, purchase, or simple admission, but never upon individual supernatural experiences, and of which several were usually combined into a series through which the individual passed consecutively. Shamanistic societies in the Plains region were not confined to the Omaha and Ponka. Miss Fletcher has given an account of an Elk Mystery of the Ogallala Sioux which is of this type. It is very probable that in some instances in the Plains area the two classes of religious societies mergeu into one another ; but their essential difference, and their distinctness, in the great majority of cases, must be clearly kept in mind if confusion as to the true character of each is to be avoided.

One of the foremost difficulties presented by a comparative examination of the available material regarding the society-ceremonies is in their names. Many of these names seem to be translatable only with difficulty, so that white informants have at times used descriptive terms. Through this it has been brought about that ceremonies which undoubtedly correspond in different tribes, or even are the same ceremonies in one tribe, have been differently named. Another side on which information is very imperfect is the consecutive order of societies or ceremonies within each tribe. In some tribes, as the Arapaho, the age of the individual is the factor that primarily determines his affiliation with each society. In such cases the order of the societies is of course of the highest importance and is usually readily obtained if inquiry is made. Among other tribes, as the Cheyenne, age bears no relation to affiliation with the societies,

and the individual seems to belong to but one, and to perform its ceremony, all his life. In still other cases, as among the northern Plains tribes, age is an important factor but not the only one, since the accounts given largely emphasize purchase as the element upon which membership most directly depends. Some informants have failed to realize that the ceremonies form a consecutive age-series in tribes where this is the case, and in consequence the presentation of their information is confused.

When comparisons are made as best they can be under these circumstances, it appears that the three Villages tribes and the Crow form a group whose scheme of organization and series of ceremonies are closely alike, and that this group can probably be regarded as the principal center of influence, as regards this institution, among the Plains tribes. The four tribes in this group all possess four important ceremonies: those of the Dog Society, the Young Dogs, the Ravens, and the Bulls, while three of the four possess the Kit-Fox and the Half-Shaved societies. The Arapaho and Gros Ventre form a group distinct from the Village group. The Cheyenne ceremonies, which include equivalents of the Arapaho, Gros Ventre, Kit-Fox, Crooked-Lance, Crazy, and Dog dances, and the regalia used in these dances, present many similarities to those of the Arapaho, though fundamentally their nature, through their not constituting a series whose membership is dependent upon age, seems to be radically different. The Blackfoot tribes must perhaps be regarded as forming a third group. Their ceremonies show similarities to those of the Arapaho, but probably more to those dances of the Village group which the Arapaho lack. The Western Sioux possess the Dog and Raven societies, but most of their others, if the accounts and names given can be relied upon, are more or less peculiar to themselves. Their ceremonial organization clearly bears relation to that of the Village tribes, but not to that of the Arapaho. The Kiowa also have ceremonies that are in large measure peculiar to themselves. The nearest analogues of the Kiowa ceremonies seem also to be found not among the neighboring Arapaho but among the Village tribes. It thus appears that all lines of relationship unite in the Village group.

In considering the distribution of the separate societies and

ceremonies, much difficulty is encountered from the confusion of names that has been mentioned. Certain of the more prominent or typical societies, however, agree frequently even in their names, and to the number of their undoubted occurrences can be added societies given under a different name but which are so described as to leave no doubt of their similarity.

Of widest distribution is the Dog society, also known as Old Dogs and Real Dogs, or described as consisting of men wearing owl head-dresses or scarfs that can be pinned to the ground and carrying rattles. So far this society has been found among all tribes possessing the form of organization under discussion. It seems also to be the only society which occurs thus universally. It is always one of the more important societies, usually having a place in the middle or towards the end of the series, that is to say, comprising men of mature age not yet beyond the power of fighting and of the time of life when their military renown would be greatest. On the other hand it appears rarely to be the last society of the series, that of the very old men. Among the Cheyenne, who have no age series, the Dog Society is said to be numerically the largest and to be considered the most important. The popular name for the entire military-ceremonial organization among the Plains tribes in general, « Dog Soldiers », is derived from this society.

One of the next most common societies is that of the Kit-Foxes, which is found both in the Arapaho-Cheyenne, the Village-Crow, the Blackfoot, and other groups. It is usually a society of young men, rarely occurring elsewhere than in the beginning or middle of the series.

The Small Dog, Young Dog, or Fool Dog society is characteristic of the Village-Crow group, where it seems to be anticipatory of the Dog Society, either immediately preceding this or near the very beginning of the series of ceremonies.

A Raven, Crow, or Blackleg society has a wide distribution, except in the Arapaho-Cheyenne group, where it is not found. This ceremony seems sometimes to come early and sometimes late in the series.

A Bull Head-dress or Horn society, characterized by buffalo head-dresses, is also common, though chiefly northern in distribution, being found among the Village-Crow tribes, the

Blackfeet, and the Cheyenne. The Arapaho lack this ceremony.

A society of Real Men, Soldiers, or Enemies, is found among the Arapaho, Blackfeet, and Village tribes. It is difficult to determine the extension of this society on account of the vagueness or difficulty of translating most of its names. It is also probable that these names are applied to societies and ceremonies of different character. They have in common, however, the fact that they generally designate only societies well advanced in the series.

Societies characterized by crooked lances occur in a number of tribes, though probably these lances are used in connection with different societies in different tribes. It is also likely that crooked lances have a wider distribution on the plains than the present form of ceremonial organization.

Another society that is found among several tribes is that of the Half-shaved Heads.

The Fool or Crazy Society is well developed among the Arapaho and Gros Ventre. It is doubtful whether there is a full equivalent either of the ceremony or of the name in other tribes, but it is certain that societies and ceremonies presenting many analogies occur in a number of tribes. It is only necessary to mention the Fire dance of the Cheyenne and the Fool Dog and Hot Water societies or the Village-Crow group.

A number of other societies occur in more than one tribe. Such are the Club, Tomahawk, or Sword Society, and the Flies. But too little is yet known of these, as well as of a considerable number of societies passing under names peculiar to one tribe, to make a comparative discussion of them profitable at present.

A number of tribes possess one or more women's societies paralleling those of the men. The Arapaho and Gros Ventre have but one such society, the Mandan and Hidatsa three or four. Among the Blackfeet, Sioux, Cheyenne, and Kiowa, women's societies are not mentioned, although in some of these tribes, as the Cheyenne, a limited number of women, usually two or a multiple thereof, take part in certain of the ceremonies of the men's societies. The most important woman's society is that of the Buffalo, or more specially White Cow. Among the Arapaho and Gros Ventre the only society is thus called ;

among the Village tribes, it is probably the last and therefore most important society in the women's series. It is probable that a Buffalo or White Cow ceremony performed by women had a wider distribution than the age-society form of organization, since such a dance is mentioned among the Winnebago.

A characteristic of this ceremonial organization which has been brought out most fully in the case of the Arapaho, but which is represented also in a number of other tribes, such as the Kiowa, Cheyenne, and Mandan, is the existence of distinctions or degrees within the society. These do not represent differences of proficiency or supernatural advancement, but are evidently an outgrowth and further development of the general organizing tendency which has resulted in the system of societies. These degrees of rank may be in part reserved for the particular individuals in a society responsible for the performance of its ceremony on a particular occasion, and at least, often are awarded as a recognition of bravery and distinction ; but on the whole they serve no real function other than their own existence and the elaboration of the organization and its ritual. They do much therefore to set off the society-ceremonials from the Sun Dance and other ceremonies of the same tribes. It is evident that a careful study of these degrees of rank and their regalia will do much to bring out the true nature of the entire system.

A side of this organization that has been but little dwelt upon, although it is both striking and interesting, is the temporary giving away of wives of members to the old men or ceremonial grandfathers or fathers who are in charge of the observances of each society. The usual idea seems to be that this giving away is part of the payment made to the old men for their instruction ; but it is evident that this explanation does not exhaust the conceptions clustering in the minds of the Indians about the act, which is regarded as one of the most holy and beneficial in the entire system of observances connected with the organization. This feature is well developed both in the Arapaho and in the Village groups, and probably extends to other tribes.

The precise factor that determines membership in the societies is of the greatest importance to an understanding of the whole system. As has been stated, there can be no doubt that

this factor varies according to the tribe. Among the Arapaho and Gros Ventre, it is primarily age, while among the closely allied Cheyenne age is not a determining element at all. Among the Arapaho and Gros Ventre the societies scarcely have the character of limited organizations which individuals are at liberty to join or not to join. They are group of men of the same age to which all men of that age in the tribe are supposed to belong. A man not taking part with his age-mates in their social and ceremonial functions, in other words holding aloof from his proper society, is regarded as unmanly, and, so to speak, not a true citizen. The entire body of age-mates graduates with the advance of years from one society and ceremony into the next, and that at one time, so that theoretically, and no doubt for the most part actually, every member of the tribe, if only he lives long enough, passes automatically, as it were, through the entire system. At the same time, while this is the prevailing impression given by the Arapaho and Gros Ventre organization, the performance of a new ceremony in the series, which is the sign or equivalent of admission to the next higher society, takes place only under direction of and instruction by older men, known as the « grandfathers » — « fathers » in other tribes — of the dancers, who have previously passed through the stage which the novitiates are entering; and these older men are always paid by their « grandchildren. » There is thus also an element of purchase, and however this may be overshadowed in the larger scheme of organization by the factor of age, it exists and must not be lost sight of. It is quite possible that even among tribes like the Arapaho the payment to the grandfathers may seem the more significant and essential element to the individual at the moment when he is passing from one society to the other and has this particular change in mind rather than the organization of the series as a whole. Among the Village-Crow tribes the payment is undoubtedly a prominent feature, as it is constantly mentioned. Dr Clark Wissler says the same of the Blackfeet. Among these tribes it seems in fact as if membership into the successive societies were purchased by individuals, affiliation being connected with the possession of the regalia belonging to a society. It would also appear that an individual can pass or usually does pass from one society to the

next at is pleasure, and not in a body with all his age-mates. It is even stated in the case of certain of these northern tribes that a man can retain his membership in some of the earlier societies after having purchased his admission into higher ones, and thus belong at one time to several. At the same time the age factor is of importance here also, as one society is at least ordinarily entered only after all the preceding ones in the series have been passed through. What, finally, the factors determining membership are in tribes like the Cheyenne, where age plays no part and yet there is no mention of individual supernatural experiences as a prerequisite, rests to be ascertained. It is clear that where the system is found in fairly pure form, as it is among about a dozen Plains tribes, there are always at least two factors — age or progression in the series, and purchase or payment, — and probably others, upon which membership and consequently the whole system are dependent. It remains to determine in future studies the precise influence of each of these factors, and whether the several tribes differ as much from one another in the relative importance of these factors as now appears, or whether the divergences may not be partially due to differences in the preconceptions, or subsequently maintained first impressions, with which inquirers have approached the subject.

Another matter, and that the most important of all, the relation which this system of age-organization bears to the life as a whole of the tribes among which it exists, is equally obscure. It is clear that the organization is everywhere ceremonial. It is also clear that it has everywhere reference to war, as is indicated by the popular name «Dog-Soldiers» or «Soldiers.» It is also certain that in many if not all cases the societies possess functions of a social nature, such as policing the camp, directing the buffalo hunt, and guiding or guarding the march. In the miscellaneous accumulation of knowledge that has characterized the subject, one writer has particularly observed one of these classes of functions, and others have noted others. Thus the system has been variously designated as one of military societies, of associations with police functions, and of progressive religious ceremonies. It is evident that all such single conceptions fall short of the truth. There is very little doubt that the relative importance of the several spheres of action of the societies, —

civil, military, and religious, – differed among different tribes; but there is also no doubt that observers have differed equally in their interpretation and their emphasis according to their point of view. The matter is complicated by the fact that the societies as a body comprised at least a majority of the adult men, often perhaps all the men, of a tribe, so that certain functions of one kind might seem to be exercised by the organization of one of its parts, whereas officially and actually the exercise of these functions might really be a coincidence. In such cases it is important to ascertain definitely whether in the minds of the Indians themselves the performance of such respectively civil, military, or religious acts is or is not officially the function of a society or the organization: whether such exercise appears to be fundamentally connected with the organization in its nature and purposes, or is merely an accidental outgrowth of the circumstance that the organization as a whole is so nearly equivalent with the tribe. It is possible that we shall never be able to say positively that this system is primarily either civil, military, or religious, and that its other functions are subsequent and subsidiary developments; for there must nearly from the beginning of its existence have been more or less intermingling of its various sides and phases. At the same time it is of the highest importance to determine impartially, and without preconceptions, the relative significance and influence of each of the several sides of activity of this complex and widely ratified organization.

There are needed first of all more facts, and they are needed badly. But the time is past in the study of this subject when the isolated accumulation of facts is sufficient. An appreciation of all possible significances of the data obtained is an equal essential. The observer must not only know what has already been learned, but must realize what there may be for him to learn and what the possibilities of its significance may be. Off-hand interpretations based on individual impressions will only distort the record of new data. Observations made after a comparative study of the available knowledge, and with a full conception of the problems and possibilities of the subject, will alone lead to information productive of a true understanding of this interesting institution.

THE SKIDI RITE

OF HUMAN SACRIFICE

PAR GEORGE-A. DORSEY
Professeur à l'Université North Western, Chicago

Ethnologists have been long aware that many years ago the Skidi band of the Pawnee sacrificed on certain occasions a maiden captured from a tribe of the enemy. Three fragmentary accounts of this sacrifice have been preserved (1). While each has a basis of truth in it, no one is satisfactory or may be considered as attempting to give a full account of the ceremony. Although the last sacrifice seems to have been made before 1840, knowledge of many details of the ceremony is still preserved by two priests of the Skidi, and two women still live who claim to have seen the ceremony.

The account here presented is based on myths which are, to a certain extent, explanatory of the ceremony, a description of the ceremony obtained from Roaming Scout, one of the priests above alluded to, supplemented by certain information obtained from the two women who saw the ceremony when girls, and personal observations on three abbreviated ceremonies which have been held within the last five years. The assistance rendered by Mr. James R. Murie in the study of the ceremony has been very great.

The account of the ceremony which is here presented should be regarded as merely an outline. A full discussion of the

(1) See: McKENNEY & HALL, *History of the Indian Tribes of North America*, Vol. I, pp. 146-7.

SCHOOLCRAFT, *Information Respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States.* Vol. V, p. 77.

DE SMET, *Letters and Sketches*, in THWAITES' *Early Western Travels.* Vol. XXVII, pp. 209-210.

ceremony, with songs, myths, etc., will form part of the author's account of the ethnology of the Pawnee, which is being prepared under the auspices of the Carnegie Institution of Washington.

The actual ceremony of sacrifice seems to be based upon certain Pawnee conceptions embodied in a myth which occurs among the Skidi in many variants, several of which have been recorded (1).

In substance this tale relates that of many suitors of a village in the east who wooed a maiden in the west, none ever returned. Becoming suspicious, the Morning-Star, Mars, accompanied by the Sun, his brother; or, according to another version, Mercury, his little brother, the Morning-Star carrying the Sun in the form of a globe of fire in his moccasin, travelled west, lured onward by the Evening-Star or Venus. During this journey, he successfully encounters ten obstacles, which vary according to the different versions, being not unlike those encountered in other forms of this wide-spread episode of an obstacle race. As he overcomes these obstacles with his war-club or ball of fire, the woman exclaims that he has overcome her fathers, brothers, etc., naming in all the ten groups of relationships which are recognized by the Skidi to-day as forming the basis of relationship by kin. After he encounters the maiden, additional tasks are imposed, such as the bringing of the baby-board which is guarded by turtles in the form of hot fire, the otter skin, the otter tying strings, the buffalo robe, and a wildcat's skin, all forming part of the cradle. These secured, on successive nights as the men approach the wowen, monsters, such as serpents, bears, mountain lions, etc., are encountered and overcome. Whereupon it appears that a young corn plant is in the place of the Evening-Star's genetalia, and a squash blossom of the Moon's. These overcome, it remains finally to overcome the teeth within, whereupon the Evening-Star becomes symbolic of the sacrifice of a maiden to the Morning-Star. The result of their union is a girl, the first to be placed upon earth, which is created to receive her; the result of the union of the Sun and

(1) See: Nos. 6, 7 and 39, *The Mythology of the Pawnee*, Nos. 6 and 7, *Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee*.

Moon is a boy, who becomes the husband of this girl. Such, in outline, are the main incidents of the myth.

Before describing the ceremony, it may be noted that there is reason to believe that an abbreviated form of the ceremony was held each winter in December, at which time the ritual only was sung and the smoke offering performed. If the assumption is correct that this ceremony in general represents a solstice ceremony, this abbreviated winter performance corresponds to the abbreviated performance of the Hopi ceremonies which are held in the corresponding period.

It is said that the ceremony was not performed each year, but only when Mars was the morning-star; and especially only when the Morning-Star indicated to the tribe that he desired the ceremony to be performed. This he did by appearing to some one in a vision or dream, instructing him to capture a maiden for the sacrifice. Such an individual at once makes known the import of his vision, goes to the keeper of the Morning-Star altar; obtains from him the so-called warrior's costume, and accompanied by volunteers, sets out with the deliberate purpose of capturing a young woman, who should be not less than twelve or fourteen, nor more than twenty, years of age. When the camp of the enemy has been sighted, the warriors at night prepare a cleared space which, in the ceremony, corresponds to the tipi; the warrior's costume is used as an altar; certain songs are sung which describe how the Morning-Star travelled to the west. When the morning-star appears late in the night they set forth to capture the maiden, strong in their belief that it will be impossible for them to fail. As soon as the maiden is seized the name of the Morning-Star is pronounced, thus dedicating her to him. The party returns to the village, and the girl is at once placed in charge of the chief of the Morning-Star village.

As soon as convenient, after the return of the victorious war party, the ceremony is performed in a tipi especially constructed for the purpose, and lasts four days and nights. The details of the rites which are performed during this time are not fully known. It is certain, however, that the representatives of other villages are present in their appropriate places about the circle. The maiden, whose person is sacredly guarded during

the time of her captivity, is assigned to the keeping of some individual who sits with her on the south side of the tipi. The chief priest of the Morning-Star village sits in the west of the tipi, by his side are other priests, among them the priest of the Evening-Star altar. The bundle or altar of the Morning-Star is placed in its appropriated place in front of the priests, between them and the fireplace. This bundle contains, among other things, the customary two ears of corn, two hawk skins, pipes, a coyote skin quiver, paints, a large flint knife, a war-club, the thongs used in tying the girl on the scaffold, and a long otter skin belt which bears from eighty to one hundred scalps, said to have been taken from the different sacrifices. There is also on the altar a large bundle of small sticks, about a foot in length, showing evidence of great age, as do the other objects on the altar, which were used as tally sticks to record the songs which were sung during the ceremony.

It seems that during the first three days of the ceremony the rites were largely of the customary formal nature, smoking, making offerings of meat, etc., common to all bundle ceremonies. During this time, presumably certain parts of the ritual were sung. On the night of the fourth day the events of the ceremony move with greather rapidity. In addition to the songs and other parts of the ritual, the maiden is painted, one-half the body red and one-half black. Chiefs are sent to the woods for timbers to be used in contructing the scaffold which they erect during the night east of the village. One of the most interesting of the many rites of the night is the destroying dance of one of the priests about the lodge, during which he obliterates four colored circles.

During this night, a big fire is maintained in the tipi upon which are placed four long, round logs, about six inches in diameter. These are placed on the fire so that their ends meet in the center of the fire place, their other ends projecting towards the four directions. At a certain time each of the four priests of the village of the four directions, takes one of these poles, and as the maiden stands by the altar, directs the blazing end toward her body, the four indicating the armpits and groins. The maiden has then placed about her a blanket of carefully tanned elk skin, and the ceremony in the lodge is at an end.

The procession is formed, certain priests being especially costumed, and all proceed to the place which has been prepared for the sacrifice, east of the village. The procession is followed by the leaders of the different villages, and at the place of the sacrifice the entire village is present.

The scaffold consists of two long upright poles, placed north and south, the one at the south of cottonwood and the one at the north of elm. These represent respectively day, Fools-the-Coyotes star and the sun, and night, the Big-Black-Meteoric-star and the Black star. Near the upper end these two poles are connected by a crossbar of willow, tied to the south pole by wildcat thongs, to the north pole by otter skin thongs. Down near the earth the two uprights have fastened to them four additional crossbars which, beginning with the top, are willow, cottonwood, box helder and elm. These are symbolic of the four directions and are fastened to the uprights by thongs of animals which, on account of color, etc., are symbolic of the four directions; they are the wolf, wildcat, mountain lion and bear. The two uprights stand in a rectangular-shaped excavation which is lined with eagle feathers.

The maiden is compelled to mount the four lower steps, or rounds, and stand upon the top one; her hands are tied to the upper crossbar by means of elk skin thongs, her feet being tied to the top-most of the four lower crossbars. Her blanket is removed, and a man rushes up from a hollow in the east, bearing in his hand a blazing brand with which he touches her in the groins and armpits. Another man approaches and touches her gently with a war-club in the left groin; he is followed by three other men, the first touching her with a war-club in the other groin, and the other two in the armpits. Then the man who captured the girl approaches from the east, bearing a bow and arrow which belong to what is known as the Skull bundle; he shouts a war cry and shoots the maiden in the heart. The chief priest opens the thoracic cavity of the maiden with the flint knife from the altar, and, thrusting his hand inside, besmears his face with blood. All the men, women and children press forward now and aim each to shoot an arrow into the body. The spectators circle about the scaffold, four times, then disperse. The priests remain, and one of them removes all the arrows

from the body and places them in four piles about the scaffold, where they are left. In the meantime blood from the maiden has been allowed to drop on the heart and tongue of a buffalo, which are burnt beneath the body. The body is untied and taken east of the scaffold where it is placed on the ground, the head toward the east, and final songs and rituals are sung, in which it is described how the body is eaten by different animals and finally turns into earth.

The symbolism of the ceremony is very extensive, and the above brief account of the ceremony gives little idea of the magnitude or importance of the ceremony itself. It would seem that while primarily the ceremony is performed in obedience to a command of the Morning-Star, its real significance lies in the fact that the appeasing of this deity not only prevents the consumption of this earth through the fire of the sun, but causes the life of the earth to be renewed; even the earth itself is conceived of as being reborn. In this respect the ceremony resembles the Sun-Dance of some Plains tribes; in other respects it has many points of similarity with the Soyal ceremony of the Hopi. It may not, in any sense, be regarded as the New Fire ceremony, that is performed early in the spring.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION
OF THE SKIDI PAWNEE

par George-A. Dorsay
Professeur à l'Université North Western, Chicago

The Village.—The Skidi were organized on a village basis, of which at least thirteen are known to have existed. These villages were endogamous with descent through the male line. No furthur division into septs or minor groups has been discovered. The function of the village seems chiefly to have been the regulation of marriage and the guarding of the sacred object, always consisting of a bundle which, with its contents, formed an altar about which rites were performed when the village had its own special ceremonies. The individual villages, apparently were also, to a certain extent, involved in the politics of the tribe, although their function was primarily social and religious, in which there was a strong association of these two ideas. Each village also had its own warriors' organization into which, however, there was no formal initiation. These organizations were not graded according to rank or age as were those among the Arapaho, and they may be considered as having their mythologic origin in the bundle or altar which held the tribe together. The mariage regulation seems to have been determined by the desire to keep the sacred bundle within the village. While the village possessed both social and religious functions, it would seem that its fundamental function was ritualistic.

The villages above spoken of were really made up of groups or clusters of lodges, held together by a common name, and possessives at least one great ceremony. The groups of houses forming villages did not necessarily join one another to forme a large compact tribal town. Often they were scattered according to the configuration of the country, but all were

within a short distance of one another. When the lodges of one village joined those of another, the boundary was indicated by the cache holes which where placed in rows at the back of the lodges.

Each village possessed its own fields of corn and pumpkins, ownership in which was allotted by the village chief. In case of the death of a family the land was redistributed. Each village also maintained its own burial ground.

The most important village seems to have been that of the Four Bands. In this village were four bundles, each one typical of a cardinal point. The remaining villages, arranged in order of their importance, are as follows: Center village, One-Half village, Village-on-the-Hill, Big-Elk village, Little-Elk village, Village-in-the-Ravine, Village-in-the-Bottom, Buffalo-Skull-Painted village, Village-on-the-Wooded-Hill, Fools-the-Wolves village, Pumpkin-Vine village and Wolves-Standing-in-Water village. Some of these villages have become extinct, namely, the Four Band village, One-Half village, Big-Elk village, and Fools-the-Wolves, and a few others are almost extinct.

On certain occasions the Skidi met as a tribe. Such occasions, as a rule, were associated with tribal ceremonies, during which the priests or chiefs, representatives of each village, met in a ceremonial lodge. On such occasions the representatives of each one of the villages above named sat in a certain place. Thus in a certain ceremony, the representatives, four in number, of the Four-Band village would sit in the west, while on the north side of the lodge would be arranged all the remaining representatives of villages except the last four, sitting in the order in which they have been named, from east to west. Of the remaining four village representatives, the last two had no rights in the tribal lodge, and the next to the last two sat on the south side in the lodge. This arrangement of village representatives seems to correspond to the relative position of the bands in the camp circle of the Cheyenne and Arapaho and certain others of the Plains tribes.

THE FAMILY.—The lodges of the Pawnee were very large and might hold several families, among which there might be relationship; or it might be that the families dwelt together from

mutual arrangement for sake of convenience. The Pawnee conception of family (sitting-with-one's-offspring) seems to have been that of husband, wife or wives, and children.

Usually marriages among the Skidi were late, the woman being, as a rule, twenty and the man being old enough to have achieved success on the hunt, or, preferably, distinction on the war-path. Until the age of puberty, children were allowed to play freely without restraint. After the age of puberty the girl was carefully guarded.

Marriages, as a rule, were arranged, not by the young people, but by the boy's uncle, who inform him when in their estimation he has reached a proper age, and tell him of the choice they have made for his wife. The young man is sent to the girl's lodge with a priest, who bears the invitation. The decision rests with the girl's maternal uncle. The ceremony of marriage is concluded by the couple sitting side by side on a buffalo robe and being addressed by the girl's uncle and by the priest, after which follows the distribution of the presents made by the bride-groom's relatives.

Polygamy was often practiced, depending, as a rule, upon the ability of the husband to support more than one wife. When a man married the eldest of several sisters, he had claim upon the remaining sisters of the family and usually married them as they became of age. The greatest number of wives known to have been held by one individual is eight, sisters of two families. The formal marriage ceremony with the second, and additional wives, was not performed. A restricted form of polyandry was recognized when a young man, becoming of age, was granted the rights of husband in his mother's brother's wife's lodge.

Divorce was said to have been rare. A man left his wife if she proved unfaithful. Her relatives, however, might prepare a feast for him; should he accept the relationship continued as before. Should a man prove unfaithful, his wife's mother or grandmother might drive him from the lodge.

A widow mourns for at least a year. This period might be extended to two or more years should her husband have been a prominent man in the tribe. It is expected at the end of the mourning period that the widow will become the wife of the deceased's younger brother or the wife of her husband's sister's

son. Widowers mourned two or three years, and very often did not remarry. A widower's children are cared for by the wife's mother.

While marriage was within the village group, marriage with near kin was strictly forbidden.

There are ten classes of bloodkinship; for the woman, grandmother, mother, grandson or daughter, sister, and son or daughter; for the man, grandfather, father, uncle, nephew, and brother. As a result of this grouping of blood relationships, a younger brother may sustain the relationship of husband to an elder brother's wife. Brothers and sisters are not intimate, and never address each other except when he asks her to mend his moccasins.

The arrangement of beds in a large communal lodge varied according to the relationship or degree of intimacy among the families represented. The beds of the children, as a rule, were at the west side of the lodge near the altar, while those of the old people were near the entrance of the lodge.

THE INDIVIDUAL. — The position of an individual in Skidi society was dependent upon birth to a large extent, though one could rise in rank by the performance of notable deeds.

A girl, on reaching the age of puberty, was cared for by her grandmother.

During pregnancy, husband and wife observe certain restrictions, especially is the use of a knife forbidden. They must refrain from drinking from a horn spoon, etc. The husband must refrain from killing any animals except for food, in which case he must jump over them after they have been slain. Violation of these or other taboos on the part of husband or wife cause premature death or deformation of the child.

During childbirth, the husband leaves the lodge and may not see his wife for four days. She is cared for by an old woman who receives pay for her services. The afterbirth is placed in a tree.

The child, immediately after birth, is washed in warm water, wrapped in a robe and placed on a cradle-board. It is said that abortion was never practiced except by unmarried women to conceal the evidence of guilt.

Shortly after birth, the child is given a name by the old midwife, which is suggested by some characteristic of the child, such as Round Eyes, Fatty, White, Young Bull, Bear's Eyes, etc. This name is borne until the father has performed some deed of valor, at which time the child is publicly given a name in a formal manner by a priest who recites a certain ritual. Names are always appropriate. Those of women may be distinguished from those of men by a prefix. The individual may bear several names during life. Names are personal property.

Five periods of life are recognized for both men and women. These represent the time of babyhood, childhood, the time from the beginning of the age of puberty until marriage, middle life, and old age.

The education of children was strict. Commands and injunctions were enforced by blows. Education of children was largely in the hands of the grandparents, girls being taught to dress hides, prepare food, and do other work of the women. Boys were taught to handle the bow and arrow and to gamble. When a boy reached the age of puberty, he was received into the lodge of his maternal uncle, where he is initiated into manhood, and maintains the rights of husband until he is married.

THE TRIBE. The Skidi consisted of groups known as villages. The tribe was a unit, however, on many occasions, having common enemies and at least two sacred bundles or altars, which were regarded as the property of the tribe and not of any one village. The tribe possessed certain civil, military and ecclesiastical functions; but the ordinary affairs of life were relegated to the village organization.

Social position among the Skidi was regulated largely by birth, and a caste system may be said to have prevailed.

Among the nobility were the chiefs, priests, medicine-men and warriors. The chiefs had their own ceremony and claimed allegiance to the North star, who presides over the council circle of stars, Corona. Theoretically, the eldest son of a chief inherited his father's postion, but in fact he was not initiated into the Chiefs' society until he had proved himself worthy. The chiefs were supposed to look after the welfare of the tribe

at home rather than lead war parties abroad. A man might become a famous warrior, but have no claim on the chieftainship. The council of the chiefs was made up of the representatives of chiefs of each village. Theoretically, they were of equal rank. Priests and medicine-men, as a rule, inherited their positions from their fathers, although an individual of common parentage might aspire to be priest or medicine-man.

The common people represented probably less than one-half of the tribe, and were without influence or power. Their lodges were smaller than those of higher rank ; they had few or no ponies and often were objects of charity. On the outskirts of the village lived the poorest of the tribe, especially those who were social outcasts.

Disputes were settled among the individuals immediately concerned. Boys and girls were taught that they should look out for themselves. A dispute was terminated generally when blood was drawn. The most common cause for dispute seems to have been disagreements over gambling. Jealousy among wives often lead to personal combats. Among the crimes recognized, that of killing by bewitching was the most heinous. Rape and adultery were also considered great crimes. Suicide was considered a crime, for it was believed that it would cause famine. Stealing was a crime to be punished by the one aggrieved.

Slaves were rarely killed or mistreated, and were often considered as full members of the tribe, marrying into it. No formal rite of adoption of slaves into the tribe is known to have existed.

Strong attachments among young men, either brothers or those not related, were often formed. These friendships often lasted throughout life.

The skidi's conceptions of modesty did not forbid the freest discussion between the sexes of all ages of all matters pertaining to the relationship of the sexes. Nevertheless. one who in his conversation spoke disrespectfully of women was known as one lacking in decency. One who was careless in his habits of eating, who was not clean in his person was known as a filthy man. The coward was one who was afraid to go on the warpath ; he never mourned on the high hills for fear of ghosts ; he

lagged behind and hung about the camp. The lazy man was the slow man, who, as a boy, never carried water, never looked after the ponies, never carried firewood, and who never ran off secretly with a war party. The stingy man was one who, when it was his wife's turn to cook for those in the lodge, furnished her with a scant supply of meat, and consumed most of that himself. The liar was one who was always deceiving people; he gives false alarms when scouting, and is always falsely claiming to have seen buffalo nearby. He was generally a coward as well and often when the enemy was sighted he ran home boasting of his deeds. Insanity was unknown, although a woman under the influence of love medicines was said to be »mixed up; her spirit was not straight.«

There was no trial property except the two sacred bundles. Villages owned their own bundles, and accompanying ceremonies, also their own burial grounds and corn fields. Personal property consisted of interest of the lodge and personal effects, such as tools, utensils, etc. Each family owned its share in the corn fields. Medicine-men and priests had their own individual patches of tobacco. Theoretically, a woman had no property rights; in fact, however, she owned the lodge tipi and her tools and utensils. Children did not inherit personal property, such as robes, ponies, saddle trappings, etc. Such property was generally claimed by the sons of the deceased's sisters, though it was often seized by the deceased's brother.

DANCE FORMS

OF THE MOQUI AND KWAKIUTL INDIANS

PAR MARTHE WARREN BECKWITH

Formal dances among primitive people are generally dramatic representations in which spirits and the heroic dead are believed actually to take part. The impersonation depends upon the belief that by imitating the acts of a person or animal, one becomes to some degree inbued with the spirit of that being. By imitating, therefore, the acts performed by the heroes and supernatural beings of the spirit world, one may obtain some of their mysterious power. The form the impersonation takes will depend upon the vividness with which the beings represented are conceived, how they are individualized, and what ideas underlie their representation. Like so-called civilized drama, it will be shaped by the prevailing social customs of the group in which it is developed and will reflect their highest interest.

Since the object is the practical one of obtaining supernatural power to provide for actual needs, the primitive drama may be explained on the basis of the real practical interests, social or economic, of the group in which it is found. Esthetically its dramatic form is the expression of the emotional interests of the group. Such forms will be employed as give pleasure ; they will be realistic or symbolic according as the recognition of habitual forms or the realization of the actual scenes portrayed, arouses æsthetic interest. They will appeal to the sense of terror, of awe, or of humor according as the social and economic conditions give play to such emotions.

The purpose of this paper is to show how two groups, sufficiently isolated to exhibit distinct cultural types, have developed distinct dramatic forms along the lines of their social and economic interests. In the Kwakiutl Indians and allied

types of the Northwest coast of British America extending north into Alaska, and the Moqui Indians of the Pueblos of Arizona, we find such isolated groups, developing under widely different economic conditions. The published researches of Dr. Franz Boas among the Kwakiutl, and those of Mr. Jesse Walter Fewkes among the Moqui of Tusaya, have been used for the details of the following comparison.

Primitive people are chiefly interested in obtaining a food supply and protection from enemies. Since they know little about artificial means to secure these objects, they seek supernatural. Geographical conditions, therefore, which determine the food supply and conditions of defense of a group, will, to a certain extent, determine the form of their dramatic expression.

The Kwakiutl live in a densely wooded region. For food they depend upon fish, which they catch in nets, and to some extent upon sea mammals, with what berries they can gather in the woods ; agriculture is not practised. The Moqui live in a bare, arid land, which they till for corn ; beans with melon, squash, and some fruit are also grown. The Kwakiutl fear a scarcity of fish ; the Moqui dread a drought, either through scarcity of rain or of the winter snow fall which fills the water courses in the spring, and they dread, also, the heavy thunder storms that tear up the growing corn field. Under these conditions, the Kwakiutl have developed a fondness for fishing and hunting expeditions whose success depends upon the personal courage and dexterity of the individual. The attention of the Moqui is centered upon agricultural pursuits, in which land is held in common and tilled without personal danger. Added to this is the fact that the Kwakiutl, until very recently, lived perpetually in fear of attack from hostile neighbors, and in the hope of glory through the slaughter of their rivals (1) ; while the Moqui, early welded together into a peaceful community, occupied with their crops, and protected from hostilities by their position on high mesas, have long been free from these atrocities of which their early history is full. It follows that among the Kwakiutl, personal prowess and daring have counted

(1) Report of the United States National Museum, 1895, p. 424.

for much more than among the Moqui, and such need is reflected in their social development. The group tie among the Moqui is based upon a community of privileges derived through a common class relationship ; that of the Kwakiutl upon the rank of the individual within the group and his ability to represent the group in rivalry with an enemy (1). The Moqui village strives to secure the common benefits of abundant rainfalls and rich harvests ; the Kwakiutl, to better the social prestige of the group by pitting the wealth of an individual against a rival. The ceremonial dances which each sustain are accordingly an organized effort to secure supernatural aid for such ends (2). The Moqui dance is communal in form, the Kwakiutl, individualistic.

If we examine first the organization of Moqui and of Kwakiutl dances, this difference becomes apparent. In both groups, religious ceremonial is in the hands of secret societies. Among the Moqui, each society is referred to a clan origin, and dramatizes in its dance a clan myth which tells how the hero of the clan was initiated into the rain rites of the totemic brotherhood of the under-world, who, by this marriage, became the totemic ancestor of the clan (3). Within the society, the office of head priest is in general hereditary within the clan to which the ceremonial is referred (4), and the secret rites are held in a chamber sacred to that clan (5). Moreover, the ceremonies open with a « smoke talk », at which is made an exchange of terms of blood relationship, irrespective of the true relation of the

(1) Report of the United States National Museum, 1895, pp. 338, 343, 554.

(2) Report of the United States National Museum, p. 396.
The American Anthropologist, 1897, p. 144.

(3) Journal of American Folk-Lore, XI, pp. 173-194.
21st Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, p. 23.
Journal of American Ethnology and Archæology, II, p. 6-14.
The American Anthropologist, 1897, p. 143.
19th Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, pp. 1006-1008.

(4) The American Anthropologist, 1900, p. 121.
Publications of the Field Columbian Museum, III, pp. 13, 73, 175.

(5) 19th Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, p. 988.
21st Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, pp. 28, 34.

members taking part (1). Clearly, therefore, the Moqui societies are organized on a clan basis.

The Kwakiutl societies minimize the clan element. Each is referred to a common initiating spirit (2), which becomes the totem, not through a common blood relationship but through the right of a personal initiation given by the same spirit to each member in a particular form (3). The right to this initiation is commonly derived from the mother, who brings it to her husband as a marriage dowry, to be used for his heir (4). It it held by only one person at a time and must be paid for by the husband, like the blankets, earrings, canoes, coppers, or other objects of personal property of which the bride's dowry may consist. Its value depends upon the amount expended upon the initiation feast (5); and hence, the rank of different individuals within a society, as that of the societies among themselves, differs considerably (6). Furthermore, during the ceremonial season in which certain initiations take place, society loses its ordinary clan relations and assumes another form of grouping based upon membership in secret societies. Two divisions are recognized, one composed of those who have dances to perform, who are grouped according to the spirit that initiated them, and ranked according to the price paid for the initiation; the other, of all other members of the group, who are divided into age and sex divisions; (7) that is, into the typical grouping of a military organization of the Plains (8). The result is that the clan relation is minimized, and a division of society which emphasizes the age steps in the life of an individual, each of which is commonly

(1) 19th Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, p. 1007. Journal of American Folk-Lore, Vol. XI, p. 184.

(2) Report of the United States National Museum, 1895, section V, pp. 428, 498, 499.

(3) Report of the United States National Museum, 1895, pp. 393, 418, 448.

(4) Report of the United States National Museum, 1895, pp. 337, 388, 421, 501, 648.

(5) *Ibid.*, pp. 501, 554, 556.

(6) *Ibid.*, pp 498, 499

(7) Report of the United States National Museum, 1895, pp. 419, 420, 518.

(8) Report of the United States National Museum, 1895, p 418.

marked by a deed of valor, becomes here further accented by organizing these steps into secret societies. The distinction between a man's position as clansman and as society member is furthur emphasized by the fact that during the ceremonial season, he is called by a secret name different from his clan name (1). The official opening of the ceremonial season includes the summoning of each man to the feast by his secret name (2) ; to forget to call a man by that name after the season has begun, is an error for which the offender must atone in order not to offend the spirits (3). This is in striking contrast to the ceremonial opening of the Moqui festival before described. The ceremonial of initiation, although generally held in the central dance hall of the village, may take place in the house of the giver of the feast, which, by taking down the partitions of the bed chambers, laying boards for beating time, erecting a dance pole and sweeping the floor, is made into a suitable hall for the gathering (4). In all such observances the individualistic character of the Kwakiutl organization is apparent.

Comparing still further the organization of ceremonial dances, we find them in both regions grouped according to a period of four days, the last day of which is, in general, set apart as the « dance night. » Among the Kwakiutl, the whole period, from the opening of the initiative period, about November, to its close in January, during which time alone ceremonial dances may be performed, is considered sacred (5). But the festival of each society occurs at no fixed time within this season and is dependent for its occurring at all upon the competitive element. A rival tribe may force a society to perform its cere-

(1) *Ibid.*, pp. 504, 607.

(2) *Ibid.*, pp. 517, 547.

(3) *Ibid.*, pp. 370, 430, 504, 517.

(4) 21st Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, pp. 18-23.
15th Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, pp. 255-260.
The American Anthropologist, 1900, p. 82.
Field Columbian Museum, III, pp. 14, 172-3.
The American Anthropologist, 1898, pp. 110-115.
Report of the National Museum, 1895, pp. 503, 520, 537, 614, 624.

(5) Report of the United States National Museum, 1895, p. 418.

monial (1). In any case, an individual must be found to give the festival; the society as a group is not responsible for it (2). The Moqui festivals of the secret societies, on the other hand, occur at a fixed time during the year, the distance of one celebration from another being marked off on the calendar according to groups of four days; and in every case the festival represents to society as a group and not an individual within the society. Masked festivals, called Katcinas, are confined to the months from December to August; unmasked to the other half of the year (3). The program of the Kwakiutl dance night, consists of a series of impersonations taking place in no fixed order, according as a man wishes to show his dance or not (4). This gives the Kwakiutl much more individual freedom in his presentation of the dance than the Moqui, whose calendar is fixed by the community and his dance program, by the society as a group.

On the other hand, the Kwakiutl have certain traditional impersonations with which particular clan groups open the initiation ceremonies of their secret organizations, and whose observance is strictly urged by the older members of the group (5). Certain observances, such as the manner of painting the face, are referred to as tribal possessions (6). The Moqui masked festivals, too, allow a good deal of individual freedom in arranging the program. Those masked festivals, or lesser Katcinas, whose form is, however, comparatively constant, may be given at any time during the masking season, when the society wishes to show its dance (7). The elaborate masked dances, which have a fixed place on the sacred calendar, consist of a series of

(1) Report of the United States National Museum, 1895, pp. 544, 562, 582, 589, etc.

(2) *Ibid.*, pp. 436, 501, 540, 547.

(3) 21st Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, p. 15.
15th Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, p. 260.

(4) Report of the United States National Museum, 1895, pp. 420, 524-5

(5) *Ibid.*, pp. 420, 548, 558, 577, 592, 615.

(6) *Ibid.*, p. 592.

(7) 21st Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, pp. [illegible], 17, 26.
Ibid., pp. 16, 48.
15th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

performances given by different societies, in which each sacred clan house or kiva in the village is supposed to be represented. The dances displayed differ from year to year, and the same dance may vary considerably according to the ingenuity of the performers (1). Mr. Fewkes explains these festivals as « composite lesser Katcinas (2). » It is evident, therefore, that the organization of ceremonial dances of Kwakiutl and Moqui secret societies may be considered to be fairly parallel. Emphasis upon a fixed order of procedure resting upon clan tradition, is the result of the communal basis of Moqui society; that upon novelty and individual initiative as a witness of individual rank, of the Kwakiutl competitive basis.

The same typical tendencies modify the form of the dance in each region. The group dance is representative of Moqui festivals, the individual, of Kwakiutl. The Moqui pueblo is composed of different clans which have, by immigration or by conquest, become welded together to make up the present group (3). Each clan preserves its own religious dances (4). The society organized for this purpose impersonates in a group dance their bond of union with the supernatural brotherhood whose rites have power to bring rain to the pueblo (5). Moreover, the Katcina dances, whose origin seems parallel to the getting of a guardian spirit in the north, by dream or vision,

(1) 15th Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, p. 268.

(2) 8th Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, pp. 16-41.
The American Anthropologist, 1894, pp. 162-167, 394-417.

(3) *Ibid.*, 1896, pp. 151-173.

(4) 19th Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, pp. 965, 1007.
21st Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, p. 17.
The American Anthropologist, 1897, pp. 143-145.
Ibid., 1893, p. 366.
Ibid., 1897, p. 144.
American Folk-Lore, XV, p. 14.

(5) Journal of Am., Eth., & Arch., Vol. IV, pp. 72, 88-96.
The American Anthropologist, 1892, p. 237.
Ibid., p. 126.
Ibid., 1900, pp. 105-6.

have taken on the communal habit of the Moqui group (1). The lesser Katcinas are danced as group dances and their masks are referred to as clan ancestors (2). If a man nowadays wants to show a fresh mask, he gets a number of his fellows to perform in the same mask, and if the dance is successful it may be added to the repertory of his kiva (3). Ancient Katcina masks often represent, instead of a similar totemic brotherhood, a family group (4); single impersonations occur in a dual character, male and female, and a curious doubling of the sexes typical of Moqui impersonations, although not clearly understood, has been referred to the habit of fixing attention upon the family group rather than upon the individual (5). In this way the basket and tablet dances of the women's societies correspond to the group dances of their brother societies in the same clan (6). When distinct impersonations occur, the impersonator appears as a representative of his group, as is the case in a kind of masquerade called « the dance of all spirits, » or he dramatizes the acts, traditional or symbolic, of their totemic ancestor (7); in no case does the dance have any meaning to himself as an individual, as is the case in the Kwakiutl dance.

Among the Kwakiutl, a personal encounter is required of each novice in order to gain the magic power the spirit has to offer. Attention to this individual initiation has given the typical form to the Kwakiutl dance. The society member shows his dance alone because he receives it in a particular

(1) 15th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, p. 293.
21st Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, pp. 33, 42, 57, 79.
Journal of Am. Eth. & Arch., Vol. II.

(2) 21st Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, p. 56.

(3) 21st Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, p. 17.

(4) *Ibid.*, pp. 43, 45.

(5) Journal of American Folk-Lore, XI, p. 188.

(6) Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology, II, p. 123.
15th Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, p. 260.

(7) Journal of Am. Eth. & Arch., II, pp. 59-69.
15th Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, p. 259.
Journal of American Anthropology, 1900, p. 94.
Journal of Am. Eth. & Arch. IV, p. 63.

form and because it carries with a particular supernatural gift and represents a particular social rank ([1]). Group dances do occur, such as that of the Walasaxa ([2]), which is performed by the tribe in a body and corresponds closely to the Moqui beast dances ([3]). In these cases, the dance is distinctly mimetic of the animal represented. The idea is that the beasts who organized the society in the days when animals talked like men, return to perform their dance, and the Kwakiutl tendency is to impersonate the animal as realistically as possible. Such dances are, however, rare among the Kwakiutl societies. The individual dance is typical.

Conformity to tradition fixes the style of both Kwakiutl and Moki dances, whether communal or individualistic. The members of a Moqui society enter in a procession and make a sinistral circuit four times about the kiva or the court where the dance is performed ([4]), dressed in the costume of the brotherhood, which has also its distinctive song and dance step ([5]). Usually the dancers form their own chorus and carry some instrument for keeping time. Sometimes a drum is borne before them for this purpose. In Katcina dances, six men, dressed as women, may kneel in front of the line of dancers and keep time for them ([6]). Certain officers may accompany the dancers ; such are the asperger and meal throwers in the Katcina dances ([7]). One or two warriors may act as escort for a procession, or the

(1) Report of the National Museum, 1895, pp. 396-431, 498-9.

(2) Report of the National Museum, 1895, pp. 477, 606.

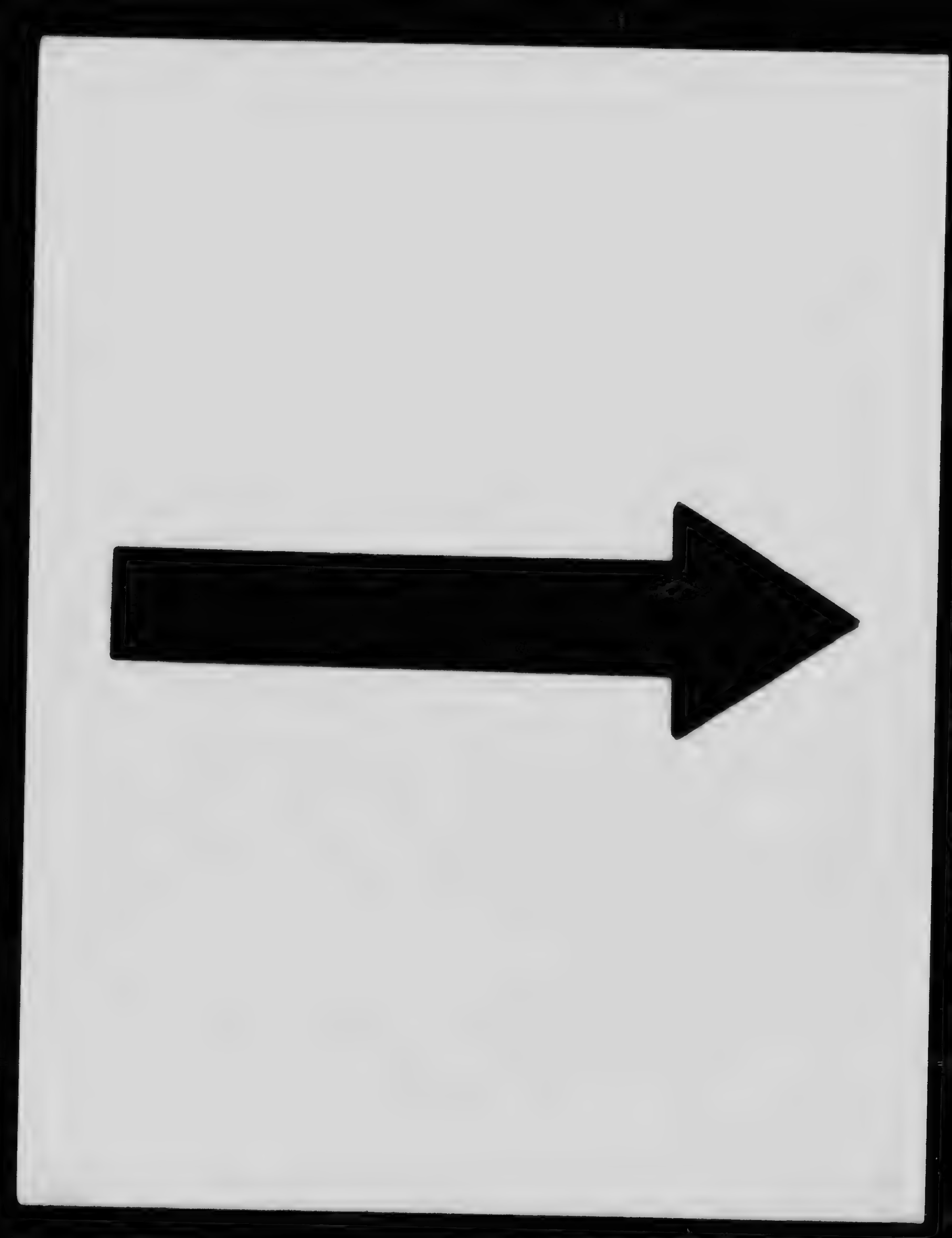
(3) American Folk-Lore, XI, p. 180.

(4) Journal of Am. Folk-Lore, V, 1892, p. 39.

(5) For costume see :
21st Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology.
15th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology.
American Anthropologist, 1900, pp. 93, 98, 100, 105, 106, 131, 135.
19th Annual Report of the Bureau of Am. Eth., p. 1000.
Field Col. Mus., Vol. III, Plates.

(6) 15th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, p. 293.

(7) Journal of Am. Eth. & Arch., Vol. II, pp. 69, 84, 97.



whole warriors society lead the march ([1]). In the Katcina dances their place is taken by representatives of the fool brotherhood. Accompanying the clan group are individual impersonations representing the clan legend. Among these the clan hero and heroine usually figure.

The Kwakiutl dancer moves about the fire from left to right, making a complete revolution of his body before and in the rear of the fireplace ([2]). Between the dances he may disappear within his bedroom at the right hand rear of the fireplace ([3]), which is the sacred corner of the room during dances. He wears the costume and paraphernalia inherited with the dance, namely, certain cedar rings and mask of the spirit who initiates him ([4]). In these he may appear at different times from the doorway of the bed chamber, which is also painted with the likeness of the spirit or totem he inherits. Besides the society songs and the measure of the song and dance, which belong to the initiation he represents, the dancer composes one or more songs of his own ([5]). A chorus occupies front seats in the rear of the house and, lead by a chorister, keeps time for him and repeats his songs ([6]). In both Kwakiutl and Moqui groups, four is the sacred number. Every act is repeated four times, and this tradition often determines the number of dancers who make up the group.

Such conventional habits determine the lines upon which the formal dramatic dances in each region are developed. A characteristic difference of style renders them still furthur typical. The Moqui have developed formal representation along symbolic lines, the Kwakiutl along realistic.

These characteristic tendencies are to be seen in their

(1) American Anthropologist, 1900, p. 100.
Journal of American Folk-Lore, VII, p. 285.
Journal of Am. Eth. & Arch., Vol. II, p. 127.

(2) Report of the U. S. National Museum, 1895, pp. 432-3.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 446.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 446.

(5) Report of the U. S. National Museum, 1895, p. 432.

(6) *Ibid.*, pp. 436-7.

decorative art (1). We find examples in the pottery of the Moqui, and in the carved wooden utensils of the Kwakiutl. In some instances wooden vessels carved by the northern tribe attempt to represent an animal realistically. More often the animal is represented in sections laid on decoratively; but even in this case, where realism suffers a transition to a system of symbolism, the Kwakiutl artist evidently works seriously to represent the animal as it really is by keeping the relation of parts and the actual form of each, their distortion being justified by the shape of the surface to be covered. When a part of the animal is used to distinguish it, like the incisor teeth of the beaver, or the dorsal fin of the killer whale, the real shape of the object is preserved. The pottery design of the Moqui artist usually tries to picture realistically or symbolically, birds, lizards, frogs, mammals, butterflies and dragon flies. But in a large number of the designs the pictograph symbol has dwindled to a mere sign. A triangle or a row of parallel lines represents a feather, and it is evident from the way in which the symbol is placed that the idea is perfectly conveyed to the mind of the artist by the purely conventional markings. This is, perhaps, the most striking thing about Moqui symbolism. With all its apparent confusion of form, the ideas represented may be resolved into a few simple elements expressed by common objects upon which attention has been centered for economic purposes. They are, therefore, to be identified with no less precision than the realistic markings of the Moqui.

When the question comes up of individualizing different impersonations by means of paraphernalia, the same typical differences occur. In both Moqui and Kwakiutl dances the most important of such insignia are masks and songs; other forms are cries, face and body paintings, decorations, and emblems (2). If we examine the insignia used in Moqui and in Kwakiutl dances, we find that the effort of the Kwakiutl is to represent realistically the actual object which the token represents, or in other cases, where the meaning of the mask has been lost, to explain it

(1) Bulletin of American Museum of Natural History, IX, 1897, pp. 1-14.

(2) Report of the U. S. National Museum, 1895, p. 435.

realistically. The Moqui represent such insignia symbolically. For example, a certain society of the Kwakiutl paint the face with parallel bars. They explain these as « the rubbing of Winalagalis canoe » — Winalagalis being the spirit of the Winter Dance whom the hero encounters in a canoe on a lake and, swimming out the canoe, tips up the end to the peril of the spirit, who offers him the four gifts of the dance to desist ([1]). Another, one of the cannibal societies, appears with red streaks running from mouth to ear, and these are explained as the blood running down from the mouth of the cannibal spirit who has just feasted on the flesh of his enemies ([2]). Both of these explanations are essentially realistic. Even more naive is the dramatization of a whaling scene in which one of the actors, covered with white gown, represents cold weather ([3]). This should be compared with the mask of the Moqui Snow Katcina ([4]). Certain Moqui face paintings are explained as representing the four world quarters ([5]). The symbol of friendship is two crescents interlaced ([6]). Moreover, natural parts of the costume are often replaced by a symbolic object ; the band of a headdress across the forehead becomes a symbolic ear of corn ([7]) ; the whorls of hair worn by a Moqui woman are replaced in the masks by squash blossoms, the symbol of virginity ([8]).

The emblems borne by the societies show the same difference. The carved weapons which are borne by the Kwakiutl societies whose duty it is to act as officers of the dance, are to be compared with the corn and rain symbols or symbols of sex, which the Moqui dancers carry as prayers for the blessings they symbolize ([9]), or the carved sisul in which a Kwakiutl dancer

(1) Report of the U. S. National Museum, 1895, p. 492.
(2) *Ibid.*, pp. 444, 596.
(3) Report of the U. S. Nat. Mus. 1895, p. 641.
(4) 21st Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, plate 22.
(5) 21st Annual Report of the Journal of Ethnology, plates 42, 47, 57.
(6) Journal of Am. Eth. & Arch., II, p. 40.
(7) 21st Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, p. 109.
(8) *Ibid.*, p. 64.
The American Anthropologist, 1892, p. 22.
(9) See Illustrations, Report of Nat. Mus. 1895, pp. 475-6.
19th Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, p. 997.
American Folk-Lore, XV, p. 20.

sees the actual form of the spirit he encountered (1), with the symbolic planting stick and gourd of the Moqui Germ god.

The Kwakiutl may have been stimulated to this realistic way of representing the spirit, by the nature of the material they had at hand. Wood is very abundant on the northwest coast and soft wood lends itself well to realistic representation. Their carvings are extraordinarily life-like, especially those used in the shamanistic tricks, where the illusion depends upon the skill with which the human face is counterfeited (2). Their masks, which are made of wood, embody with exaggerated realism the face of the animal or monster in which guise the spirit is conceived to exist (3). Sometimes a mere head mask is worn; sometimes the animal mask opens and discloses a human face, or these two may be combined and one appear on top of the other. In these cases, the reference is to the mythical time when the animal shape could be transformed into the human or into that of another animal (4). Sometimes, in the northern tribles, the double mask represents typical moods, the moods being marked realistically by lines of expression (5). When exaggeration exists, it follows the tendency common to Kwakiutl carving, to center attention upon some one prominent feature by which the impersonation comes to be known. Such is the wide, round mouth of Tsonoqoa, the cannibal woman (6).

A curious parallel to this habit in carving, is found in a distinguishing mark peculiar to the Kwakiutl societies. It consists in an object closely connected with the monster impersonated, which acts as an "exciting object," the mention of which is supposed to create frenzy on the part of the spirit. Thus the nose is the exciting object of the Fool dancers, the raven of one order of cannibals, the skull, of another (7).

(1) Report of the National Museum, 1895, p. 371.

(2) Report of the U. S. Nat. Mus., 1895, pp. 503-4.

(3) Report of the U. S. Nat. Mus., 1895, pp. 640; see plates pp. 447, 463, 470, 479, 485, 493, 494, 625.

(4) Report of the U. S. Nat. Mus., 1895, pp. 339, 420.

(5) *Ibid.*, pp. 627, 630.

(6) Report of the U. S. Nat. Mus., p. 479.

(7) Report of the U. S. Nat. Mus., 1895, pp. 266, 445, 479, 545, 552, 583.

The mask model of the Moqui, who live in a barren country, is typically the gourd ([1]). This lends itself il. to realistic representation but makes a good surface for applying symbolic marks. By combining the gourd mask with the typical headdress of the dancers, which makes the top and the opposite sides of the head objective points for decoration, the Katcina mask comes to assume its present habitual form : — in material, of leather ; in shape, something like a tea-cozy ; in decoration, chiefly differentiated by the shape of the eyes ; by the mouth, which, besides painted forms, is represented by round mouthed, snouted, and toothed Katcina ; by color areas ; and by symbols on the cheek and at decorative points on the top and on either side of the head. These decorations make no attempt to represent the features truly. Nevertheless, they become habitual, so that it is by these symbols that the same impersonation under a multitude of diverse names and diverse details of decoration may finally be identified ([2]). Particular regions have a particular style of decoration which mark them as sources of certain Katcina masks, and so the history of a mask becomes distinct from its present place in the ritual into which it has got assimilated.

A comparison of the Moqui songs with those of the Northwest is necessarily incomplete, owing to the fact that few Moqui songs have been translated. Those few, however, which have been put into English, are typical sequence songs, which invoke the four directions for rain under the color symbols of clouds, seed corn, birds, flowers, and stones ([3]). In a translated racing song, the invocation names from verse to verse the different parts of the body whose strength is to be tested in the race ([4]), just as the daub of paint applied to like points on the runner's body may be interpreted as a prayer for strength in these parts. The Kwakiutl songs, on the other hand, although often obscure

---

(1) American Folk-Lore, XV, p. 22.

(2) Compare : 21st Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology ; (especially p. 109.)
Am. Anth., 1897, p. 144.
Am. Folk-Lore, XV, p. 14.
Am. Anthro., VII, p. 32.

(3) Field Col. Mus., III, pp. 127, etc.

(4) Field Col. Mus., III, p. 152.

in reference, are inspired with an attempt to recount the actual form of the encounter. They may belong to a society or to an individual, in which latter case the burden, or tune, is common to the society, only the words differing (1). In their simplest form they boast the power of the spirit impersonated or describe its particular gift (2); or they recount the prowess of the man in securing the gift (3). Their individual character is shown when they tell the special history of the encounter, or describe the particular owner of the gift (4). The song may, further, include a sort of dialogue, one part of which is sung by the dancer and the other by the singers as chorus (5). Or a group of impersonators may sing each a line of the song. These modifications follow naturally the increasing dramatic freedom of the dance, but the point is that the effort toward realism which identifies the song as much as possible with the realistic details of the particular encounter, helps toward such freedom; while the Moqui tendency to symbolism, in which the particular occasion of the song is easily obliterated, corresponds with the formal ritual which accompanies the song.

The same contrast is evident if we compare the manner of relating ceremonially the clan legends. The Kwakiutl attempt to tell the story as vividly as possible in order to render its reality plausible (6); the Moqui preserve the historical tale of the wanderings of the clan in a symbolic form, in which the objects and the direction colors are repeated in sequence songs, for luck, instead of the actual happenings of the journey (7).

The explanation of this typical difference between Moqui and Kwakiutl insignia is that the Kwakiutl represent by these external signs an actual encounter with the spirit; to the Moqui they are a means of prayer. Prayer is, in fact, the real purpose

(1) Report of the U. S. Nat. Mus., 1895, p. 432.
(2) *Ibid.*, pp. 403, 460, 472, 480.
(3) *Ibid.*, pp. 460, 461, 465, 477, 482.
(4) *Ibid.*, pp. 459, 460, 461.
(5) Report of the U. S. Nat. Mus., 1895, pp. 471, 475, 492, 494, 631.
(6) *Ibid.*, pp. 338, 376.
(7) Field Col. Mus., III, pp. 98-102.

of Moqui ceremonial. Prayer is uttered verbally ( ); it is expressed in the sacrifice of meal as the most precious possession, or typically in the feathered prayer stick (2), or in the image or formal symbol representing the object prayed for, or in ritualistic acts and in acts of dramatic significance (3). Prayer in these forms is the way of intercourse between the upper and the under world, and the presence of the gods is the means of their more effective supplication. All shrines dedicated to particular ancestral beings — the sites of old villages, springs and caves, supposed to be places of access from the underworld — are sacred. In the sacred chamber where rites are performed, this place of access whence spirits are born out of the womb of the earth, is symbolized by the aperture called the sipapu, often made by boring an augur hole through a plank which is fixed into the floor (4); it is emphasized in the altar and the sand mosaic, both of which hold a place in Moqui ceremonial (5). The ceremonial circuit by which such places are consecrated in procession or in dance must be interpreted also as a prayer to the spirits believed to dwell below them, just as the more dramatic act of kicking a clay ball down the watercourses, which occurs during one of the festivals, is meant as a prayer for rain, the clay ball being in Moqui worship, a symbol of rain (6); — or the dances dramatizing the action of the sun on the earth in the spring time are a prayer for the fructifying of the earth and the growth of rich harvests for the pueblo.

---

(1) Translations in: Field Col. Mus., III, pp. 277, 309, 311, 320.
American Anthropologist, 1900, p. 94.

(2) Journal of American Folk-Lore, X, pp. 187,-201.
See illustrations in: Journal of Am. Eth. & Arch., IV, pp. 51, 71.
Field Col. Mus., III, plates XV, VIII, XLVI.

(3) Folk-Lore, XV, p. 29.
19th Annual Report of Am. Bu. of Eth., p. 1010.
Am. Anthro. 1898, p. 75.

(4) Am. Anthro., 1900, p. 96.
Field Col. Mus., III, p. 94.

(5) See Bibliography — also illustrations in Journal of Am. Eth. & Arch., IV, pp. 18, 22, 54.
Field Col. Mus., III, pp. 42, 52, 43, 92.
19th Annual Report of Am. Bu. of Eth., plates 46, 53.

(6) Am. Anthro. 1900, p. 116.
21st Annual Report of Am. Bu. of Eth., p. 53.

Symbolism, which refers all forms and phenomena to supernatural ancestral beings whose gifts are those of rain and corn to supply the common needs of the people, becomes for the Moqui the means of approach to the supernatural world. Two elements are constant in their symbolism: natural objects are made by their color to distinguish the different directions (1); they are given sex according to their function, real or imaginary. The heat producing element in nature is regarded as the male, the earth, which produces the harvest, as the female agent of growth. Hence, the sun is the father of all spirits, the earth or the corn is their mother, or more strictly their grandmother; since in the interpretation of these deities we find a tendency to regard the earth as hermaphrodite (2). All spirits are grouped by their symbolic colors under one of the four directions (3). The elaborate festivals of the Katcina season are in reality the ceremonial ushering in of the gods on their return to the Pueblo with the winter solstice or at the corn planting and bean planting season, and their farewell when they depart at the time of the summer solstice (4). The whole Katcina ceremonial is, therefore, now explained by the phenomena of growth, although several of its festivals would seem to be made over warrior ceremonies (5). The Snake and Flute boys and girls, of the unmasked dancers, and the Corn men and maidens of the basket dances and of many Katcina dances, sustain as clan heroes and heroines the

(1) Journal of Am. Eth. & Arch., II, pp. 38, 159.
Field Col. Mus., III, pp. 101, 127.

(2) 21st Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, p. 38.
Journal of American Folk-Lore, XV, pp. 14-23.
19th Annual Report of the Bureau of Am. Eth., p. 1005.
15th *Ibid.*, pp. 259, 266, 313.
American Anthropologist, 1894, pp. 48, 49.
Ibid., 1901, pp. 438, 439, notes.

(3) 15th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, p. 267.
Ibid., p. 261.
American Anthropologist, 1898, p. 140.
Journal of Am., Eth., & Arch., Vol. IV, p. 21.

(4) 15th Annual Report of Bureau of American Ethnology, p. 272.
Journal of Am. Folk-Lore, XV, p. 24.

(5) 15th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, p. 272.

same relation to their clans as Father Sun and Mother Earth do to all spirits, and as a matter of fact, wear the insignia of these deities ([1]). The rain deities are symbolized by the sign of the rain clouds ([2]). The idea of the dramatic dance becomes now that of a prayer uttered through the formal dramatization, either realistically or by means of ritual, of the rain or the corn harvest to follow. The mimetic dance, therefore, pictures the prayer offered. As Mr. Fewkes puts it — the Indian expresses his prayer dramatically for the same reason that he models figures of objects to place upon the altar — in order to make clear to the spirits what is wanted ([3]).

The mimetic dance is not, however, characteristic of Moqui dramatization. The totemic animal dances of the Katcinas, which initiate realistically such animals as wasps, mice, et caetera, seem to be a comparatively modern innovation ([4]). The buffalo dance, imported from the East is said to be losing its realistic character ([5]). The races before sunrise which belong typically to Moqui festivals, have their mimetic value, the racers being imagined to represent storm clouds racing over the mesa, and the winner of the race hailed as the bringer of rain to the Pueblo ([6]); but the performances of the rain god are highly symbolic ([7]); as are the dramatic prayers for a rich harvest inserted into the women's dances and into some Katcina dances ([8]). Every Moqui festival, moreover, includes the ceremony of singing the night songs about the altar. These songs are accompanied by ritualistic acts performed with the symbolic objects upon the altar, as a prayer to the four directions,

---

(1) 19th Anthropologist Report, p. 1000.
American Anthropologist, X, pp. 133-143.

(2) 19th Annual Report, p. 1008.

(3) American Anthropologist, 1900, p. 125.

(4) 19th Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, p. 81.

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 31.

(6) Field Columbian Museum, III, pp. 322-327.

(7) Journal of Am Eth. and Arch., Vol. IV, p. 75.

(8) Folk Lore, XII, pp. 83, 85, 91.

invoked through their various color manifestations, to bring rain and peace and blessing to the people (1).

As attention becomes centered, however, upon a particular impersonation of dramatic power, and either follows more directly some myth of its exploits, or realizes it more vividly in the performance of some common activity of nature or of husbandry in which the subject of the action becomes coherent and interesting, characters are individualized and greater freedom of dramatic action is exhibited.

Moqui dramatizations fall under two classes; historical, which commemorate the wanderings of a clan; and nature dramas, which represent some phenomenon of nature (2). Dramatization of the union of clans, and narratives and observances commemorating their wanderings and those of the clan ancestors are a typical feature of Moqui clan festivals (3). Their object seems to be to bring the novices into closer touch with their supernatural ancestry. On the whole, the nature myths lend themselves to more realistic dramatization (4). Among such acts are the planting ceremony of Muiyinwu in his character of planting god (5); the ceremonial corn grinding of the corn maidens attended by corn men (6); and the rites of the Great Plumed Snake, in which an ancient war drama, it is supposed, has been interpreting according to present Moqui interests to symbolize

---

(1) Field Col. Mus., III, pp. 24, 47, 79.
American Anthropologist, XI, pp. 81-etc.

(2) Journal of American Ethnology and Archæology, IV, pp. 106, etc.
Journal of Am. Eth. & Arch., II, p. 152.
Am. Ass. for ad. of Sci., 1892.
Field Colombus Museum, III, pp. 255-261.
American Anthropologist, 1900, p. 124.
American Anthropologist, 1897, p. 143.

(3) Journal of Am. Eth. & Arch., IV, 1894, pp. 281-284.
Journal of Am. Eth. & Arch. IV, pp. 62-65, 68, 69, 73, 77.
Field Col. Mus., III, pp. 98-102.

(4) 15th Annual Report of Ass. of Am. of Ethnology, p. 254.

(5) 21st Annual Report of Bureau of Am. Ethnology, p. 36.
Journal of American Folk-Lore, XV, p. 23.

(6) 21st Annual Report of Bureau of Am. Ethnology, pp. 79, 54, pl. 27, 32.

Father Sun in the form of lightning, fertilizing Earth in the form of a cornfield (¹). In the pantomime, a mimic cornfield is laid out in front of a screen painted with sun symbols, from apertures in which stretch great serpents, made by drawing canvas over barrell hoops and worked from behind so that they writhe and twist in a hideous and life-like manner, besides emitting realistic roars made by blowing on a conch shell behind the scenes. Although the characters which belong to the myth may be merely painted on the screen, they may also appear as actors. Earth mother feeds and suckles her offspring, the serpents, to pacify them. The serpents destroy the cornfield, or struggle with each other or with some impersonation in the play, and the whole pantomime is made as realistic as possible, even to holding blankets over the fire while the screen is being set up so that the illusion may not be lessened by witnessing the stage devices. As a whole, however, such a realistic performance is not typical of Moqui dramatizations. The tendency to group action and to symbolism leads to ritualistic forms of actions in which the picturing quality has given place to an interpretative value which is purely conventional.

Exactly the opposite is the case among the Kwakiutl. The whole meaning of the Kwakiutl dance forms depends upon their realistic value. The actual forms of the beings they impersonate are vividly realized and the gifts they secure are those of personal prowess. The secret dances of the Kwakiutl were obtained from tribes to the north, and their form has probably been determined by the war ceremonials with which they were connected (²). Representing, therefore, conditions which force attention upon individual skill and daring, and foster the spirit of rivalry, the societies seek superhuman support from mythical monsters, an encounter with which and a display of whose gifts

(1) American Folk-Lore, VI, pp. 269-289.
21st Annual Report of the Bureau of Am. Ethnology, pp. 40-42, 51, Plate 26.
15th Annual Report of Bureau of Am. Ethnology, p. 291.
American Anthropologist, 1898, p. 84.
Journal of American Folk-Lore, XV, p. 29.
(2) Report of the National Museum, 1895, p. 664.

must test the nerve of the boldest. The Cannibal who lives in the woods and gives the power to eat human flesh (1), the War Spirit of the North, which bestows in different forms the power of invulnerability of throwing disease, and of catching the soul of an enemy (2); Matem, who appears as a huge bird and gives the power of flying (3), and the Ghosts who give the power to return to life (4) such are the spirits who act as guardians of the secret societies. Some beings are common to the clan dances and to those of the ceremonial season, such as the horned sisul, which gives invulnerability to its owner, but to look on which is death to any enemy (5); and the blind ogress of the woods, Tsonoqoa (6). Shamanistic devices, self-torture, and the difficult art of cannibalism are among the higher rites practiced ceremonially in this region. The dramatic impersonation, hence, centers attention upon a display of personal endurance, courage, and self-control, such as would serve to terrorize an enemy or to strengthen individual daring and fortitude.

The business of the whole initiation ceremonial is to prove beyond question that the novice has encountered one of these guardian spirits, and received from him the supernatural gift. It is from beginning to end a dramatization, in as realistic a manner as possible, of the capture of the notice by the spirit; of his return after a period of hiding, when he is supposed to be harboring with the spirit; and of his display of the gifts secured during this time, by the performance of a dance. The other society members during his absence display their dances one by one in order to lure back the spirit of the novice; and upon his return, they endeavor, by songs and by the dancing of women to pacify his madness. Although each dance has individual features, the form of each ceremonial depends, upon the myth of its origin and is, hence, prescribed by convention.

(1) *Ibid.*, pp. 395-408.
(2) Report of the National Museum, 1895, pp. 394, 485 497, 560, 597.
(3) *Ibid.*, pp. 411, 483.
(4) *Ibid.*, pp. 408, 482.
(5) *Ibid.*, pp. 358, 371.
(6) *Ibid.*, pp. 372, 479.

When the ceremonial season opens, spirits are supposed to enter the village to catch the souls of the novices whom they wish to initiate. Their presence is represented by whistles, of which every society has its distinctive call (1). Accounts of Indians on Vancouver Island give the ghost calls a still more realistic turn. The presence of the thunder bird (2) — probably a war god — is heralded by thunder and lightning, the lightning made by flashing torches through apertures in the roof, and the thunder which follows the flash, by the drumming of the heels of the initiated against the empty boxes on which they sit, while the whole assemblage whistles like the wind (3). The sound of Winalagalis, the Kwakiutl war god, is made by swinging whirring sticks on the roof or by humming in a peculiar manner.

The coming of the spirits is a signal for the novices who are to be initiated to disappear mysteriously (4). Devices are resorted to in order to suggest the agency of spirits. Among the Koskimo, a bloody shirt is left behind when the novice vanishes, or at a dance the Disease Thrower may strike the novice, when he immediately faints and is not revived until the period of initiation, generally four days, is over. During this time his soul is supposed to be with the spirits. Among some tribes the spirits themselves are represented, who carry the novice away. The Nootka dress as wolves and carry off the novice. In one of the coast Salish tribes the society members appear in company with impersonators of wild men whom they lead with ropes. These dance about the novice, and finally take him away and secrete him to be taught the secrets of the society. Another trick is to make the novice appear as if burned alive, by substituting a dummy, carved with an exceedingly like-like face, in place of the body of the novice, who is secreted in a pit underground ; at the proper time he emerges from the ashes,

(1) Report of the U. S. National Museum, 1895, pp. 446, 493, 503, 508, 526, 564.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 638.

(3) *Ibid.*, pp. 538, 501.

(4) *Ibid.*, pp. 503, 555, 601, 606, 612, 613, 632, 637, 646, 655, 657, 658, 659.

with the power of coming to life. By a similar trick the novice is beheaded and appears as if returning to life. All these devices depend for their dramatic success upon the realistic impression they give that the notice is actually carried away by supernatural means.

His return may be no less miraculous ([1]). Among the northern tribes, the soul is said to return because it has made a mistake while performing the dance in heaven, and is hence sent back to earth. The Kwakiutl dancer is enticed back by the display of a dance whose spirit is master of the spirit which possesses the novice ([2]). During his period of initiation in the woods, the novice may appear at various times in his character of mad man, possessed by some superhuman being. Among the northern tribes, his return is dramatically prepared for. He may be seen at a distance dancing behind a fire in such a manner that he seems to be dancing in it : he may return as if walking on the water, by using a float hidden beneath the surface ; or he may be borne over the water on a carving representing his totem animal. Particular initiations determine the form of his return. The novice of Matem appears flying from the roof into the dance hall ; the Ghost novices appear from underground ; the Cannibal comes through the village biting all whom he can lay hold of. Formerly he actually bit the flesh, but now he merely sucks the flesh in such a way as to leave the appearance of a wound ([3]). In general, the appearance of the novice is made as sudden and dramatic as possible. When he appears in the dance hall, the rear right hand corner is the sacred place of ingress.

When the novice appears, he performs the dance which he has learned, shows its rings, masks, and carvings, and sings the secret songs which he has practiced in the woods during his absence. He also exhibits dramatically the supernatural gift he has obtained. The whole force of his action lies in convincing

(1) Report of the United States National Museum, 1895, pp. 608, 656, 660.

(2) *Ibid.*, pp. 497, 524.

(3) Report of the U. S. National Museum, p. 440.

his audience of the reality of the gift he claims to have secured (1). The masks he wears are carved to represent the actual face of the monsters who initiate him. In his acts he attempts to dramatize the frenzy to which he lays claim, in his songs to relate his personal experience. For example, in the cannibal dance (2), the novice wears at one appearance the mask of the cannibal monster of the woods, at another, the bird mask which represents one of the cannibal household. It has a huge beak with which it cracks the skulls of men. He dances differently, too, at first, squatting as if searching for food, then upright as if satisfied and exalted by his feast. As he sings, his gestures follow the search after food, and the idea of feasting upon the flesh of his enemies which the song calls up (3). In more realistic interpretations of the rite, a human body is actually borne before him by his female attendant, which he tears and eats, cutting off parts for other members of the society.

Whenever a man uses his dance after initiation, he is supposed to be possessed by the same spirit. If the adventure dramatized includes a culture gift or a phenomenon of nature, the dance or the mask mimics, as closely as possible, the nature of the gift (4). The myth of the bringing of salmon is commemorated in a dance imitating the action of a salmon trapper. The sunrise myth is represented in a mask-head which opens to display the yawning day. So close is the idea of the impersonation to the reality, moreover, that this dance is of necessity performed before sunrise (5). A Dance of the Wind imitates in a lively manner the movement of the wind. The same feeling of actuality controls those performances in which the gift takes the form of physical frenzy in some particular direction. Such a dance is not, like the Moqui impersonation, a prayer for a gift, it is the gift itself. It is not realized in nature ; it is itself the only proof of the existence of supernatural support.

(1) *Ibid.*, p. 396.
(2) *Ibid.*, p. 437.
(3) *Ibid.*, p. 457.
(4) Report of the United States National Museum, 1895, pp. 475, 484, 497.
(5) *Ibid.*, pp. 410, 582.

In these realistic performances, the audience is made to share the dramatization. Those initiated by the Spirit of Sleep, enter and dance with their eyes closed, and soon throw the supernatural spell over the whole audience (1). The Soul-Catcher moves about the rooms pretending to catch in his hands the souls of those who offer themselves, the soul being represented by a small wad of white down tied to a string (2). The dreaded disease thrower pretends to hurl his magic stick, and those in the audience whom he strikes rush forward, blood streaming from their mouths, and fall as if dead until brought back to life by the Shaman (3). Those who boast invulnerability, receive great wounds which are miraculously healed (4). Song and dancing of women is used to pacify the frenzy of the spirits (5). The performance ends with the distributing of gifts to pay the dancers, and to requite all damage done to property (6). The distributing of gifts at the close of the dance is also characteristic of Katcina performances in the South (7). In the North, blankets are given, which are the actual unit of wealth. In the South, the dancers and the audience are presented with seed corn as the symbol of harvests.

The realistic character of Kwakiutl dramatization is by this time clearly evident. It shows itself in three directions: — in the excellent power of mimicry, to be found particularly in the animal dances (8); in the development of realistic trickery, such as Mr. Washington Matthews describes among the Navajo, to produce the illusion of magic; and in a naive application of realistic symbolism in place of the conventionalized symbolism of the South. Ceremonial paraphernalia, as well as the actual

(1) *Ibid.*, p. 655.
(2) *Ibid.*, pp. 561, 575.
(3) *Ibid.*, p. 489, 600.
(4) Report of the United States National Museum, 1895, pp. 489, 600.
(5) *Ibid.*, pp. 529, 573, 613, 542, 573, 578, 586.
(6) *Ibid.*, pp. 529, 535, 574, 579, 589, 596, 601, 603, 657.
(7) 21st Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, p. 43.
Journal of Am. Eth. & Arch., II, pp. 57, 60, 85, 97.
American Anthropologist, 1900, p. 130.
(8) Report of United States National Museum, pp. 636, 640, 477, 615, 578, 558.

costume of the dancer, is interpreted thus symbolically. The paraphernalia include the dance pole set up in the dance house, and the wreaths of hemlock and cedar bark, the tallow and down distributed to the participants in an initiation feast. All of these objects, and the very food itself which the feasters consume, however foreign the idea may have been to the origin of their use, are now explained as a symbol of the wealth destroyed by the giver of the dance to raise the rank of the novice who is being initiated (1). Consistently with this symbolism, the wreaths are dropped into the fire and the pole chopped up to betoken their complete destruction. The boastful speeches of the rival chiefs vie with each other in vaunting the amount of wealth they destroy (2). Formerly, say the Kwakiutl, we contended in war, but now we contend with property. Songs magnifying such a destruction of property hence take the place of the old war songs, which extolled prowess in war (3). In the same way, symbolic ceremonies are made to emphasize the amount of wealth given away for the dance. The giver of a feast, when he announces his intention, goes about the fire as if bearing on his back the weight of the wealth he means to distribute (4). Such is the symbolism involved when the rope, by means of which the soul of the novice is dragged from the grave, is made to break from the weight of blankets given in payment for his release (5); or the byplay of a masker who has on the top of his mask a sliding rod smeared with grease and covered with down, any one who catches a feather of which, as the dancer moves it up and down, is entitled to a blanket (6); or the symbolism of the soul catcher who represents by the « soul » of theperson he exercises, a certain gift of blankets for a feast (7).

(1) Report of United States National Museum, 1895, pp. 502, 653, 471, 530, 581, 522, 626.

(2) Report of the United States National Museum, 1895, pp. 580, 602, 571.

(3) *Ibid.*, pp. 472, 275, 277, 482, 498, 573, 578.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 502.

(5) *Ibid.*, 609.

(6) *Ibid*, p. 634.

(7) *Ibid.*, p. 561.

One such symbolic performance of the Kwakiutl corresponds closely to the Moqui type ([1]). During one ceremonial, the old chiefs cast wreaths into the fire and shoot arrows after them. « Putting the head of an enemy upon a pole », the ceremony is called ; but the wreaths are now reckoned to mark the property each chief destroys in the feast, while other groups throw sticks into the fire to count the feasts they have given. With such a performance should be compared the Moqui rain rites in which male and female symbols are tossed into cloud patterns traced on the sand, or that of the women's dances in which arrows are shot into corn husks as a symbol of fertilization ([2]). In the Kwakiutl stories, too, the powers granted by the spirits take the form of objects ; usually they appear as the magic harpoon, the water of life, the fire darand the magic canoe. In the rings worn in the secret dances there is an attempt to shape the knots, which represent different stages of initiation, into the form of one of these gifts ([3]). When it occurred to the Kwakiutl to dramatize his gift, the same endeavor toward a concrete representation directed his efforts toward producing the illusion of reality for the supernatural frenzy to which he laid claim.

Did our comparison close here, we should say unhesitatingly that the Kwakiutl greatly surpassed the Moqui in dramatic freedom and vividness of impersonation. When, however, we take into account the comic interludes introduced into both Moqui and Kwakiutl ceremonials, such a generalization becomes impossible ([4]). It is with the introduction of this fun making element that Moqui drama finds its free outlet. The more formal clan dances and the farewell Katcina exclude the comic element ([5]), but in all other dances it has its legitimate place as

---

(1) *Ibid.*, p. 522.

(2) American Anth[illegible]gist, 1892, p. 238.
Folk-Lore, XII, [illegible].

(3) Report of United States National Museum, 1895, pp. 413, 415, 454, 484.

(4) *Ibid*, pp. 546, 563.
21st Annual Report of Bureau of Am. Ethnology, pp. 50, 59.

(5) Journal of Am. Eth. & Arch., p. 84.
15th Annual Report of Bureau of Am. Eth., p. 267

interlude, or as a recognized act of the Katcina dance night. Conventional forms are caricatured or disappear altogether, and pure farce takes their place. Comic songs and witty dialogue, in which the deities themselves take part, may be introduced into the sacred ceremonial. A burlesque of a sacred dance may be performed. The actors may represent a domestic wrangle, or some eccentricity of a stranger. The Moqui are quick to mimic personal peculiarities : the outthrust jaw of the neighboring Navajo is quickly caught by Katcina artists ([1]), and his peculiar utterance imitated in dramatic impersonation. At one performance a very good take-off was improvised, of a white man taking down notes with a phonograph, an occupation which to the Indian seems entirely ridiculous. In some instances the sacred dances treated in burlesque are those which have lost their hold upon the pueblo, or have perhaps lost their original meaning with the audience ([2]). Yet the comic character has its recognized place among Moqui priesthoods. Three fool brotherhoods exist among the secret societies ([3]), each with its special costume and character : — a brotherhood of gluttons brought from Zuni ; the « Mudheads », of Tanoan origin ; and the true Moqui gluttons who are allied to the Phallic societies ([4]). Since the fools are present only in Katcina dances they may be believed to be introduced to the Moqui from the same source as Katcina impersonations ([5]). Cave paintings and pictures on pottery also connect the two ([6]). The knob headed costume of the Zuni

(1) 21st Annual Report of Bureau of American Ethnology, p. 88.

(2) Folk-Lore, XII, 1899, p. 87.

(3) 15th Annual Report of the Bureau of Am. Eth., p. 293.
Journal of Am. Eth. & Arch., Vol. II, p. 10.
21st Annual Rep. of Bu. of Eth., See plates 6, 45, 58.

(4) Compare face painting :
Am Anthro. 1900, p. 106.
Journal of Am. Eth. & Arch., Vol. II, p. 11.

(5) 15th Annual Report of Bu. of Am. Eth., p. 117.
Journal of Am. Folk-Lore, Vol. XI, pp. 175, 177.

(6) 21st Annual Report of Bu. of Am. Eth., pp. 32, 46, 70, 114.
15th Annual Report of Bu. of Am. Eth., pp. 278, 279.
Journal of Am. Eth. & Arch., Vol. II, pp. 44, 48.

gluttons and their position as escort in the Katcina dances connect these fools furthur with the warrior societies. Their character, however, has retained none of the severity of a military judiciary, nor does the mock they make of social custom seem to exist in any but the most jovial mood, or exercise itself as setting at defiance the social conventions. It is rather with the pure fun loving spirit, the instinct for comedy, that they perform their antics. Their presence at a dance is the signal for fooleries whose purpose is to furnish amusement for the people and set off society in a comic light. This they do by eating gluttonously, by abusing each other, by repeating a religious ceremony in a farcical manner, the element of farce often lying in doing the contrary of accepted custom, by witty dialogue, by acting out farcical scenes during the interlude of a Katcina dance — an Indian barter, a domestic wrangle — and by all sorts of tricks, filthiness and obscenity. Throughout, their character is that of the gay buffoon : they may caricature but never punish folly, and they do not regularly carry a weapon as emblem of authority.

Of a sterner and more official type is the fool brotherhood of the Kwakiutl (1). To their character belongs too much of the element of terror, to sustain our idea of the comedian. They show their superhuman frenzy by breaking the furniture and cutting and slashing with the swords and lances which are their emblems of office (2). In contempt of custom they throw food about and call people by their wrong names during the sacred season (3), and they run about the fire in the wrong direction (4). They act, in fact, as if irresponsible to society, at the same time that they are the messengers and escorts of the higher cannibal societies (5) and, with the Bears the appointed avengers of any violation of custom in the performance of the ceremonial, in old times punishing such accidents by death (6). Cleanliness is distasteful to them. Their power is supposed to rest in the

(1) Report of the United States National Museum, 1895, p. 469.
(2) *Ibid.*, pp. 469, 471, 548, 568.
(3) *Ibid*
(4) *Ibid.*, p. 469.
(5) *Ibid.*, pp. 436, 506, 516.
(6) *Ibid*, pp. 467, 517, 521, 551, 497.

mucous of the nose, and mention of the nose is likely to rouse them to fury [1]. The wooden face mask of the fool, with its queer shaped nose, is known to be among the oldest of Kwakiutl ceremonials [2]. Their connection with the warrior society is more clearly marked, both in function and paraphernalia, than that of the Moqui fools [3], at the same time that the idea underlying this connection is obscure: they carry weapons in their hands, and in their songs they boast their connection with the Deer, which is the warrior totem of the North [4]. As warriors, Doctor Boas remarks, they are not intimidated by the laws of etiquette which bind other orders, but show their supernatural power by license in matters where they compel other men to respect the laws of custom. Hence, their chief display is of acts which show a contempt for property, a contempt for the dignity of social rank, and a contempt for cleanliness and for traditional forms. At the same time their character as buffoon is clearly recognized; for example, from the custom, when a member of the society tries to make a speech, for the other societies to tease him with comical interruptions [5].

The same element of lawlessness is to be found in the Moqui fool; but it expends itself chiefly in gluttony and obscenity, never in personal violence. His expulsion from the farewell ceremonial to the departing Katcinas, and his exclusion from the historic clan dances, may show a tendency among the Moqui to repudiate his sacred character [6]. The Kwakiutl, on the other hand, give the order a recognized place among the highest in rank of the brotherhood [7]. With these types should be compared that of the California clown [8], who acts as the spokesman for the leader of a dance and occupies a position near the

---

(1) *Ibid.*, pp. 468, 545, 565.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 469.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 602.

(4) Report of the United States National Museum, 1895, pp. 469, 630.

(5) Report of the United States National Museum, 1895, p. 551.

(6) Report of Am. Eth. & Arch., Vol. II, p. 84.

(7) Report of U. S. Nat. Mus., 1895, pp. 419, 471.

(8) Bul. of Am. Mus. of Nat. Hist., Vol. XVII, Part III, pp. 286, 351.

front post of the dance house analogous to the position of the leader at the sacred rear post. In the myths he accompanies the Creator in his voyage of creation. His buffooneries take the form of continual eating and of comic repartee in dialogue with the master of ceremonies, nor is any warrior attribute observable in the character of the California fool.

SUMMARY

The Moqui dances may be divided into historical dramatizations of totemic animal clans, and dramatizations of nature myths impersonated by masked dancers representing totemic ancestors, called Katcinas. The women's dances have some of the characteristics of both classes. The Kwakiutl dances include mimetic animal group dances belonging to the initiation ceremonial of different clans, and typically, individual dances in which the initiating spirit of the secret society is supposed to possess the dancer in a particular form.

The Moqui dances are organized as a clan prayer for rain and harvest, the Kwakiutl as a means of social rank by the personal display of an inherited possession. For this reason the Moqui emphasize the clan tie, the Kwakiutl, the individual initiation.

The dramatic forms of the Kwakiutl tend to mark out the individual and to represent realistically the actual scenes which the supernatural being impersonated is supposed to be recalling. The Moqui tendency is to form group dances, whose dramatic action and the paraphernalia which distinguish the impersonations are symbolic and formal. Moqui symbolism is based upon the idea of sex; Kwakiutl upon that of wealth.

Common to both are masks, secret societies, and a fool brotherhood which furnishes comic byplay for the dances. In both regions these brotherhoods show a connection with the warrior societies, but among the Kwakiutl alone is the severe and austere character of the military avenger to be found in the fool; among the Moqui he is merely a glutton and buffoon.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

KWAKIUTL

Decorative Art of Indians of the North Pacific Coast. — By Franz Boas.
Bulletin of American Museum of Natural History, 1897, Series IX.

Social Organization and Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians. — By Franz Boas.
Report of the United States National Museum for 1895, pp. 311-737.

MOQUI

Altar, The Miconinovi Flute. — By J. Walter Fewkes.
Journal of American Folk-Lore, Vol VII, 1894, pp. 241-257.

Altar, The Oraibi Flute. — By J. Walter Fewkes.
Journal of American Folk-Lore, Vol. VIII, 1895, pp. 265-285.

Altar, The Owakulti, at Sichonovi. — By J. Walter Fewkes.
The American Anthropologist, New Series, Vol. III, 1901, pp. 211-226.

Altar, The Winter Solstice, of Hano. — By J. Walter Fewkes.
The American Anthropologist, New Series, Vol. I, 1899, pp. 251-277.

Altars, The Morphology of Tusayan. — By J. Walter Fewkes.
The American Anthropologist, Vol. X, 1897, pp. 129-245.

Architecture, Study of Pueblo. — By Victor Mindeleff.
8th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1886-1887, pp. 11-228.

Awatobi. — By J. Walter Fewkes.
The American Anthropologist, Vol. VI, 1893, pp. 363-375.

Basket Dances, Hopi. — By J. Walter Fewkes.

Ceremonial Circuit among Indians of N. E. Arizona, The. — By J. Walter Fewkes.
Journal of American Folk-Lore, Vol. V, 1892, pp. 33-42.

Ceremonials, Summer. — By J. Walter Fewkes.
A Journal of American Ethnology and Archæology, Vol. II.

Ceremonials at Zuni and Moqui Pueblos, Summer. —
Bulletin of the Essex Institute, Vol. XXII.

Clans, Pueblo Indian. — By T. W. Hodge.
The American Anthropologist, Vol. IX, 1876, pp. 245-352.

Destruction of the Tusayan Monsters, The. — By J. Walter Fewkes.

Journal of American Folk-Lore, Vol. VIII, 1895, pp. 132-137.

Environmental Interrelations in Arizona. — By Walter Hough.

The American Anthropologist, Vol. XI, 1898, pp. 133-155.

Feather Symbolism in Hopi Design. — By J. Walter Fewkes.

The American Anthropologist, Vol. XI, 1898, pp. 1-14.

Flute Altar, The Miconinovi. — By J. Walter Fewkes.

Journal of American Folk-Lore, Vol. V, 1894, pp. 241-257.

Flute Altar, The Oraibi. — By J. Walter Fewkes.

Journal of American Folk-Lore, Vol. VIII, 1895, pp. 265-285.

Flute Legends, Snake and. — By Matilda Coxe Stevenson.

American Association for Advancement of Science, 1892.

Flute Observance, The Walpi. — By J. Walter Fewkes.

Journal of American Folk-Lore, Vol. VII, 1894, pp. 265-280.

Flute and Snake Ceremonies. — By J. Walter Fewkes.

19th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1894-1897, Part. 2, pp. 957-1011.

Foot Race. — A Tusayan.

Bulletin of the Essex Institute, Vol. XXIV, 1892, 113-136.

History, Traditional, of Tusaya. — By Victor Mindeleff.

8th Annual Report of the Bulletin of American Ethnology, 1886-1887, pp. 16-41.

Katcinas, Hopi. — By J. Walter Fewkes.

21st Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

Katcinas, Tusayan. — By J. Walter Fewkes.

15th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Etinology, 1893-1894, pp. 251-313.

Kinship of Tusayan Indians. — By J. Walter Fewkes.

The American Anthropologist, Vol. VII, 1894, pp. 162-167, 394-417.

Kivas or Sacred Chambers in Cliff Ruins of Canyon de Chelley in Arizona. — By Cosmos Mindeleff.

16th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1894-1895, pp. 174-198.

Lalakonti, The. — By J. Walter Fewkes.

The American Anthropologist, Vol. V, 1892, pp. 105-129.

Mamzrauti, The. — By J. Walter Fewkes.

The American Anthropologist, Vol. V, 1892, pp. 217-245.

Migration Traditions, Tusayan. — By J. Walter Fewkes.

19th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1897-1898, Part. 2, pp. 577-653.

Naacnaiya, The. — By J. Walter Fewkes.
Journal of American Folk-Lore, Vol. V, 1892, pp. 189-217.

New Fire Ceremony at Walpi, The. By J. Walter Fewkes.
The American Anthropologist, New Series, Vol. II, 1900, pp. 80-138.

New Fire Ceremony at Walpi, The Lesser. By J. Walter Fewkes.
The American Anthropologist, New Series, Vol. III, 1901, pp. 438-453.

Owakulti Altar at Sichomovi, The. By J. Walter Fewkes.
The American Anthropologist, New Series, Vol. III, 1901, pp. 211-226.

Palülükonti. — By J. Walter Fewkes.
Journal of American Folk-Lore, Vol. VI, 1893, pp. 269-289.

Personages Who Appear in a Tusayan Ceremony. By J. Walter Fewkes.
The American Anthropologist, Vol. VII, 1894, pp. 32-52.

Pictographs, a Few Tusayan. By J. Walter Fewkes.
The American Anthropologist, Vol. V, 1892, pp. 9-26.

Plant Environment, The Hopi in Relation to. — By Walter Hough.
The American Anthropologist, Vol. X, 1897, pp. 33-43.

Powamu Ceremony, The Oraibi. By H. R. Voth.
Publications of the Field Columbian Museum, Anthropologist Series, Vol. III, 1901, pp. 66-158.

Prehistoric Culture of Tusaya. By J. Walter Fewkes.
The American Anthropologist, Vol. IX, 1896, pp. 151-173.

Ritual, Bibliography of Hopi. — By J. W. Fewkes.
The American Anthropologist, Vol. XI, 1898, pp. 110-115.

Ritual, Growth of the Hopi. By J. Walter Fewkes.
The American Anthropologist, Vol. XI, 1898, pp. 173-194.

Sacrificial Element in Moqui Worship, The. — By J. Walter Fewkes.
Journal of American Folk-Lore, Vol. X, 1897, pp. 187-201.

Sky-god Personations in Hopi Worship. — By J. Walter Fewkes.
Journal of American Folk-Lore, Vol. XV, 1902, pp. 14-32.

Snake Ceremonial, Bibliography of. — By J. Walter Fewkes.
16th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1894-1895, p. 312.

Snake Ceremonial at Walpi, The. — By J. Walter Fewkes.
A Journal of American Ethnology and Archæology, Vol. IV. Edited by J. Walter Fewkes.

Snake Ceremonials, Pueblo. — By T. W. Hodge.
The American Anthropologist, Vol. IX, 1896, pp. 133-136.

Snake Ceremonies, Comparison of Sia and Tusaya. — By J. Walter Fewkes.
The American Anthropologist, Vol. VIII, 1895, pp. 118-141.

Snake Ceremonies, Tusayan. — By J. Walter Fewkes.
16th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1894-1895, pp. 272-295.

Snake Ceremonies, Tusayan Flute and. — By J. Walter Fewkes.
19th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1897-1898, Part. 2, pp. 957-1011.

Snake Ceremony, The Michongnovi. — By J. Walter Fewkes.
Publieations of the Field Columbian Museum, Anthropological Series, Vol. III, 1902, pp. 159-272.

Snake Ceremony, The Oraibi Summer. — By H. R. Voth.
Publications of the Field Columbian Museum, Anthropologist Series, Vol. III, 1903, pp. 273-359.

Snake Dance, Central American Ceremony which Suggests the.
The American Anthropologist, Vol. VI, 1893, pp. 285-306.

Snake Dance, Meaning of Moqui. — By J. Walter Fewkes.
Journal of American Folk-Lore, Vol. IV, 1891, pp. 129-138.

Snake and Flute Legends, The. — By Matilda Coxe Stevenson.
American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1892.

Snake Order of the Moquis, Legend of. — By Washington Matthews.
Journal of American Folk-Lore, Vol. I, 1888, pp. 109-114.

Snake Washing, Hopi. — By J. Walter Fewkes.
The American Anthropologist, Vol. XI, 1898, pp. [illegible]-318.

Solstice Altar of Hano, Winter. — By J. Walter Fewkes.
The American Anthropologist, New Series, Vol. I, 1899, pp. 251-277.

Solstice Ceremony at Walpi, Winter. — By J. Walter Fewkes.
The American Anthropologist, Vol. XI, 1898, pp. 65-87, 101-115.

Soyal Ceremony, The Oraibi. — By H. R. Voth.
Publications of the Field Columbian Museum, Anthropologist Series, Vol. III, 1901, pp. 5-59.

Totemic Signatures. — By J. Walter Fewkes.
The American Anthropologist, Vol. X, 1897, pp. 1-11.

War Festival at Walpi, A. — By J. Walter Fewkes.
The American Anthropologist, New Series, Vol. IV, 1902.

PAST AND PRESENT

SUBTERRANEAN DWELLINGS

OF THE

TRIBES OF NORTH EASTERN ASIA AND NORTH WESTERN AMERICA

PAR WALDEMAR JOCHELSON, St-Petersburg

The subterranean or semi-subterranean dwelling of various tribes of antiquity, and partly of the present time, presents a considerably higher product of civilisation than that primitive period in the existence of humanity when as a protection against rain, the sun, and storm, men were taking recourse to natural shelters as caves, sheds offered by overhanging rocks, gorges and hollows of trees. Some artificial subterranean dwellings display a comparatively high type of architectural art.

The designation of the type of dwellings I am about to discourse upon by the name of « subterranean » is not always correct, for only few of them are entirely underground as, for instance, the ancient artificial subterranean dwellings that have been found in Scotland and Ireland. The others are only situated under the ground to a greater or smaller degree (about a half or less), while their superterrene part is covered with the earth taken out of the pit in which the dwelling is constructed. All these dwellings might be comprised under the general name of earth-huts, had not the analogous houses covered on the top with snow instead of earth, as is for instance the case with the Eskimo and Kereks, belonged to the same type. I, therefore, prefer to retain for the dwellings in question the already commonly received name of subterranean or underground.

For the framework of subterranean dwellings, stones, wood or bones of big animals, as whales or elks, were and are still used.

Subterranean dwellings were or are intended to protect their inhabitants from cold and wind, so that they are mostly only used as winter quarters, and are chiefly to be met with in the northern latitudes of the Old and the New world.

In Europe the subterranean dwelling was known to the Scythians (1), while Tacitus and Plinius attribute them to the ancient Germans (2). Their remnants have been found in Switzerland, Meklenburg (3), and southern Bavaria where they had a round shape with a kettle-like widening at the bottom, from eleven to fifteen metres in diameter, and from two to four metres in depth (4). The Slavs, (5) Finns (6), and Laplanders (7) lived, in the winter, in earth-huts. During railway constructions the Russians make even now square earth-huts as winter quarters for the workmen. Similar earth-huts were used by the Russian troops in Manchuria during the Russo-Japanese war. These earth-huts are distinguished from other subterranean dwellings by the possession of windows in the superterrene part. Subterranean dwellings were used by the Hungarian gypsies of the last century (8). For their winter huts they dig holes in the ground ten or twelve feet deep. Their roof is made of rafters laid across which are covered with straw and sods.

Remnants of another kind of subterranean dwellings have been found in Ireland and Scotland (9). They mostly represent long trenches eight or ten feet deep, and about eight feet wide.

---

(1) BOGORAS, the Chukchee (Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. VII, Part. I).

(2) M. HOERNES, Die Urgeschichte des Menschen. Wien, 1892, p. 265.

(3) F. MAURER, Ueber das Alter der Gruben-und Hohleubewahner, 'Ausland', 1870, p. 635.

(4) LIPPERT Kulturgeschichte der Menschheit 1887, p. 204.

(5) HOERNES, p. 265.

(6) LIPPERT, p. 205.

(7) AUSLAND, 1878, s. 741.

(8) LIPPERT, p. 204.

(9) D. MACRITCHIE, Subterranean Dwelling (The Antiquary, Vol. XXVI, London, 1892) p. 49.

Underground Dwelling (Scottish Notes and Queries, March, 1900).
An Aberdeenshire Mound-Dwelling (The Antiquary, May, 1899).

Some of these underground galleries have at certain places narrow passages, widenings, or branchings. The walls and roofs are joined together without cement out of unhewn stones, the walls being joined in such a way that each upper row projects a little forward as compared to the lower one, so that the walls come together at the top, or form a kind of arch that is known as « Cyclopean » arch (1). The roof is made of broad stone slabs, and sometimes of timber.

The characteristic feature of the ancient subterranean dwellings of Scotland consists in their being completely underground, without forming on the surface of the ground any hillocks or ramparts by which the remnants of ancient subterranean dwellings are easily discovered elsewhere. The use of stones for earth-huts is also known among the Eskimo, and in ancient Armenia.

In Asia I may mention first of all Armenia, as just referred to. According to Xenophontes, the pit of the Armenian earth-huts widened at the bottom, and they were entered by a staircase (2). The Phrygians overlaid their dwellings, joined together out of stones, with earth (3). Müller (4) and Patkanov (5) supply us with information on the Ostyak earth-huts that have almost disappeared now. They represented a quadrangular pit lined with wood. The roof made of poles was covered with turf and earth. They had no windows. An opening in the roof served for letting in the light and letting out the smoke. It was placed in the middle of the roof or sideways, according to the situation of the hearth in the earth-hut. The earth-hut was entered through a side door, descending into it by steps. In front of the door there was a landing with a shed fenced in on both sides with poles and called a porch.

(1) David Macritchie. Description of an Earth-House at Pitcur (Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Vol. XXXIV, p. 204).

(2) M. Hoernes, p. 265.

(3) Lippert, p. 205.

(4) Muller, The History of Siberia, p. 127.

(5) Patkanov, The Type of an Ostyak Hero according to the Ostyak Epic Tales and Heroic Stories, St. Petersburg, 1891, p. 31.

As we shall see furthur on, all the so-called Paleo-Asiatic tribes had, or still have subterranean dwellings.

In North America we meet with subterranean dwellings among the Aleut, the Eskimo, and many Indian tribes.

In view of the data as to the variety in the shape of the subterranean type of primitive architecture, and its diffusion among the tribes most distant from one another, we may take it for granted that the idea of constructing a subterranean house, though derived from identical reasons, could have originated quite independently with different nations.

However, my investigations of the subterranean dwellings of the maritime Koryak, together with my study of the description of the subterranean houses of other tribes inhabiting the shores of the Northern part of the Pacific Ocean and of the Arctic Sea, have led me to the conclusion that subterranean dwellings of the tribes mentioned not only present a product of identical culture, but that they have probably also spread by adoption.

This applies more particularly to the so-called Paleo-Asiatic tribes, the Aleut and the Eskimo.

This question is developed more fully in my work now in preparation for the press, on the material culture of the Koryak, and forming part of the Publications of the Jesup Expedition. But as far as the limited size of this paper allows me to do so, I will consider here briefly the earth-huts of the said tribes both in their general and particular features.

Apart from various deviations to be met with in individual cases, the following marks must be referred to their general typical characteristics:

(1) The pit is dug in the ground to a depth of three to six feet, and is round or irregular in shape. It is generally dug in a hilly place in order to allow the rain-water to flow down the slopes of the hill.

(2) The walls made of timber are placed straight in the pit. They form a rectangle, or an irregular octagon. The walls are raised by half or a third above the pit, but are fenced in, as with a bulwark, by the earth excavated from the pit.

(3) The roof is supported by four or more pillars, and declivities pass from it to the walls.

(4) The square aperture in the roof serves as an outlet for

the smoke, as a window, and a door. For entering the house a log with notches is placed within the opening.

The chief peculiarities of the subterranean house among each of the tribes enumerated below are the following :

THE AINOS. — We find in Schrenk (1) the description of a contemporary earth-hut of the Ainos in South Saghalin. This earth-hut is not entered through the roof, but through a lateral door. Its roof protrudes over the entrance far enough to form in front of it a covered landing with steps leading inside. The hearth is nearer the door ; but in earth-huts of smaller size it is also placed in the middle. Large earth-huts possess two hearths at the corners on the side of the door, with an opening in the roof for the smoke over each hearth. Not infrequently a channel runs from the hearth itself to the passage for the sake of draught. Grimm (2) describes a contemporary Aino earth-hut on the island of Shikotan. With them the hearth is to be found in the right corner of the earth-hut on the side of the door, while the superterrene summer hut forms a passage to the same. In speaking of the earth-huts of the contemporary Ainos, we must not pass over in silence the disputed question as to the ancient subterranean houses, numerous remnants of which have been found on the islands of Yezo and Saghalin. Some students, like the Japanese Professor Tsuboi, endeavour to prove that these subterranean houses were not inhabited by Ainos, but by another pre-Aino tribe. Others again, particularly the Japanese Professor Koganei (3), adduce well-founded arguments to prove that their inhabitants were precisely the ancestors of the present day Ainos. Among other recent explorers of the Ainos, Sternberg (4)

(1) SCHRENK, The Natives of the Amur River, II, 1899, St. Petersburg, p. 11.

(2) H. GRIMM, Beitrag zur Keuntniss der Koropokgurn of Yezo und Bemerkungen über Shikotan-Aino (Mitteilungen der Deutschen gesellschaft für Natur und Volkerkunde Ostasiens in Tokir, Band V, 1889-1892, pp. 369-373).

(3) KOGANEI, Die Uhrberrohuer Japans (Mitteilunger der Deutschen gesellschaft für Natur-und Vólkerkunde Ostasiens in Tokio, Vol. IX, Part. 3, 1903).

(4) L. STERNBERG, The Gilyak, p. 5 (Ethgraphical Survey, Journal of the Ethnographical Section of the Imperial Society of the Friends of Natural History, Ethnography and Anthropology in Moscow, Vol LX, 1904.)

pronounces himself in favour of the former, and Laufer [1] in favour of the latter opinion. For my own part I also held with Koganei in this respect, though I am unfortunately precluded from expatiating here on the subject, which is dealt with in my work on the Koryaks referred to above. I merely observe now that the ruins of the subterranean houses on the island of Yezo, as described by Grimm [2], and the objects found in them bear such a resemblance to the remnants of the ancient Koryak earth-huts explored by me on the shores of the Gishiga Bay in the Sea of Okhotsk, that they may both be stated to present remnants of one tribe. Nor did the ancient subterranean dwellings on the island of Yezo differ as to their dimensions from those of the Koryak. In shape, says Grimm, they approach a square whose sides are 4-7 metres long, with a depth of some three-quarters of a metre in the ground.

A link between the remnants of the subterranean houses of the ancient Koryak on the shore of the Sea of Okhotsk and the remnants of similar houses on Yezo and Saghalin seems to be found in the remnants of the earth-huts on the banks of the lower course of the river Amur [3] and at its mouth, which may be ascribed to the ancient Gilyak.

THE GILYAK. —Those among the modern Gilyak who have not yet acquired the superterrene Manchurian construction, are still living in subterranean houses. The pit is dug out to a depth of three to four feet, and forms a square of twenty to twenty-two feet in size [4]. In the middle of the roof there is an opening for the smoke and the light, while the entrance into the house is effected through a narrow passage which descends slantingly to the door. The floor of the house is lower than that of the passage. The hearth, composed of a wooden frame joined together of boards and filled with tightly rammed down earth, is placed in the middle of the house, under the opening

(1) B. LAUFER, Die Angeblicher Urvolker von Yezo und Sachalin (Centrolblatt für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, Jena, Vol. V, pp. 321-330.)

(2) GRIMM, p. 372.

(3) LAUFER, p. 329.

(4) SCHRENK, II, p. 11.

in the roof. Sternberg surmises that in antiquity the smoke opening of the Gilyak « yourta » also served as an entrance, as with the Kamchadal. Even now this opening is used as a door on certain occasions. On the Bear Festival the Gilyak descend by means of a purposely inserted pole through the smoke-hole with the skin and flesh of the killed bear. At the close of the festival all the ritual accessories, as well as the bones of the bear, are removed from the *yourta* through the same smoke-hole (1).

THE KAMCHADAL. — The Kamchadal are now Russianised and live no longer in subterranean houses, replacing the same by Russian block houses or by structures of the Yakut type, also introduced by the Russians. But the ancient winter-quarters of the Kamchadal, as described by Krasheninnikov and Steller, were subterranean houses. In summer they lived in huts on piles. Their subterranean house had no entrance-room, passage as we meet with among the Koryak and the Gilyak. The smoke-hole served at the same time as a window and door, through which one entered by descending along a log with notches. This was the only entrance-opening. But instead of the entrance-room of the Koryak and Gilyak, the Kamchadal house had an underground way in the shape of a narrow channel for the draught, which started from the hearth and came out of the house at the side. When the heating was over the outer end of the channel was stopped with a grass plug.

THE KORYAK. — The subterranean Koryak house is still in use among the maritime Koryak, who are not Russianised. It presents some peculiarities as compared to those described above. The pit has often a depth of three to four feet. A large yourta is some forty feet long, and even more. It has a long corridor-passage leading into the door of the yourta, as with the Gilyaks, but this passage is only open in the summer. While the Kamchadal live in subterranean houses only during the winter, the Maritime Koryaks live in them in the summer as well. The Koryak build their storehouses alone on piles. For the winter the passage door is fenced up with logs, straw, earth and snow,

(1) STERNBERG, p. 6.

and only the smoke-hole is then used as an entrance, as with the Kamchadal. For descending into the house, they use a beam provided, not with notches, but with holes into which the points of the feet are inserted. Underneath this staircase is to be found the hearth composed of two big stones between which the fire is laid. The roof of the passage has a round opening which is stopped with a plug made of straw, similar to the stopper of the Kamchadal draught-channel. Indeed, this appliance is intended for the same purpose as the subterranean channel with the Kamchadal, namely for draught. When a fire is laid on the hearth, the door leading from the house into the passage is opened, and the plug in the roof of the entrance room is taken out. A current of air then penetrates from outside, through the opening in the roof of the passage, into the house, and drives up the smoke from the hearth to the outlet-opening. A curious peculiarity of a Koryak subterranean house is presented by its storm-roof which resembles in shape an inverted umbrella and protects the smoke and entrance-opening against wind, and the house itself against snowdrifts (1).

THE CHUKCHEE.—The Chukchee, and even the maritime branch of that tribe forms no exception, now make their houses of reindeer-skins. But along the Arctic shore, from Cape Erri to Behring Strait, and along the shore of that Strait, south of East Cape, underground dwellings may still be found, with frames chiefly made of whalebone, as timber was not available.

Wrangel (2) has expressed the opinion that these subterranean dwellings were once inhabited by Eskimo who subsequently emigrated to America. On the strength of the resemblance between the remnants of subterranean dwellings on the Asiatic shores of the Polar Sea with those found on the islands off the Northern shores of America, Markham (3) has formed the theory

(1) A detailed description of a Koryak underground house will be found in the second part of "The Koryak" by the author. Also cf. his "The Koryak," Part I, Religion and Myths. (Publications of the Jesup Expedition, Vol. VI.)

(2) WRANGEL, II, pp. 225, 333.

(3) R. MARKHAM, On the Origin and Migrations of the Greenland Esquimaux (The Journal of the Royal Geographical Soc. London, Vol. XXXV, 1865, p. 87.)

of the emigration of the Eskimo into Greenland from Asia, the groundlessness of which theory has been proved by Dr Boas (1).

In his time Schrenk (2) suggested that the remains of underground houses along the Asiatic shores of the Arctic Ocean to the East of Cape Erri, were the ancient dwellings of the ancestors of the present Chukchee, which they inhabited before they adopted the tent made of skins.

This is quite admissible, for the opinion that attributes the deserted subterranean dwellings in the Chukchee shore region not to the Chukchee, but to another tribe, was founded on the narratives of the Chukchee themselves to the effect that those underground dwellings were formerly inhabited by the «Onkilon». But Onkilon is nothing else but a wrongly recorded form of the Koryak-Chukchee word «angala'n» that means «maritime dweller.» Even now the Koryak and the Chukchee apply this name to every maritime inhabitant. In the Behring Sea settlements, the Chukchee told Bogoras (3) that in the now ruined subterranean houses there once lived their ancestors. We have no detailed description of the earth-huts found on the shore of the Arctic Ocean; but in the South-Eastern part of the Chukchee Peninsula, Bogoras saw remnants of such dwellings both in the settlements in the Maritime Chukchee and in those of the Asiatic Eskimo. According to the description given by Mr Bogoras (4), this subterranean dwelling called by the Chukchee *walkar* (jaw-bone house) also had two entrances; but, contrary to the underground Koryak house, the upper entrance at the top of the wall was reserved for the summer while in the winter they used narrow underground passage which would be filled up with water in the summer. The floor of the inner room being on a higher level than that of the underground passage, the water could not damage the living accommodation. The *Walkar* had a frame of whalebones, heavy pieces of which were set upright

---

(1) Dr Boas, Ueber die chemslige Verbreitung der Eskimo in arktisch-amerikanischen Archipel (Zeitochr. der Gesellschaft fur Erdkunde zu Berlin, Vol. XVIII, 1883, p. 118.)

(2) Schrenk, II, p. 28.

(3) Bogoras, The Chukchee.

(4) l. c.

in the ground, at intervals, all around the house, and held in position by earth and stones. Large pieces of jaw-bone or of whales' ribs were superposed as rafters, while smaller pieces were inserted to render the structure more compact.

The present inhabitants of the villages of Cecin and Indian-Point still claim to know to which particular families most of ruins to be found in the vicinity of their present habitations belong. According to their statements the underground dwellings have now been disused for three generations.

It is interesting to note that the Reindeer Koryak still give to the underground dwellings of their maritime kinsmen the name of *walkai* which, like the chukchee *walkar*, means: jaw-bone house, though at present the Koryak use everywhere nothing but timber as a frame end walls for their houses. In the former time the Koryak, like the Chukchee, Aleut and Eskimo, evidently also used bones of whales for their structures, though I must add that I found no ribs or jaw-bones of whales in the frames of the excavated ancient subterranean houses of the Koryak.

The Yukaghir.—At present the Yukaghir live in skin tents of the Tungus style or in timber block-houses adopted from the Russians. But the Cossacks, who where the first to come across the Yukaghir, reported that the latter lived in earth-huts. Amosov, Andreyev, Hödenstrom, and Wrangel, refer to the remnants of subterranean houses seen by them at the mouth of Indighirka, on the Bear and New Siberia Islands, which are formerly inhabited by the Yukaghir. This leaves no doubt that the ancient dwelling-type of the Yukaghir, at any rate of those who dwelt on the sea-shore and on the banks of rivers, was a subterranean house, though we must regret the absence of any detailed description of the same.

The Aleut.—The descriptions of Russian and other travellers, like Sarytchev, Sauer, Veniaminov and Langsdorf, shew us the former dwelling of the Aleut to have been similar to the underground house of the Kamchadal. Its frame was built up of drift-wood and whalebones. The opening in the roof served as a smoke-hole, window and entrance-door. The house was

heated by a hearth-fire, and one descended into it by means of a notched log. Beyond the main living-room, there were other and smaller lateral rooms with narrow passages with leading outside, that remind one very much of the Kamchadal draught-channel.

THE ESKIMO. — From the shores of Behring Sea and Kadyak Island, as far as Greenland, we meet everywhere with former subterranean dwellings. But the type of those dwellings shews some varieties. To judge by the descriptions of former travellers, earth-huts of the Aleut type were to be met with in the Southern part of Alaska with this difference, however, that along with the small dwelling earth-huts, one might meet with subterranean public houses *(Kashim)* designed for festivals, entertainments or steam-baths. In some places remnants of earth-huts of the Gilyak type were found. At the Behring Strait, the Eskimo were found to possess underground houses, of the Walkar type described above [1]. On the shores of the Arctic Ocean we find again small earth-huts of the Kamtchatka type with the entrance through the smoke-hole, but with a frame made of whalebones. Farther East we find stones also to be used as building material for the earth-hut walls, as in the Scotch a[illegible] Armenian subterranean dwellings, with a roof made of whalebones. The stone walls frequently penetrate but very slightly into the ground, or are erected on the surface of the soil, being fe[illegible]d [illegible]p with an earth rampart [2].

[illegible] the shores of the Arctic Ocean the subterranean winter houses have been almost entirely superseded by snow-dwellings.

THE NORTH-AMERICAN INDIANS. — Remnants of underground houses or legends about them have been found among the tribes of the North-Western part of North America, which

(1) MURDOCH, Ethnological Results of the Point Barrow Expedition (Ninth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology) Washington 1892, p. 72; NELSON, The Eskimo about Bering Strait (Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology) Washington, 1899, p. 242.

(2) See BOAS, The Central Eskimo (Sixth Annual Report of the B. of Ethnology) Washington 1888, p. 539; TURNER, Ethnology of the Ungava District, Hudson Bay Territory (Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology) Washington, 1889, p. 228.

tribes belong to the Salish or Athapascan stock, and among some of them earth-huts are to be found even now. It is interesting that the coast tribes (such as the Coast Salish, Heiltsuk, Bella Coola, Tsimshian, Haida, Tlingit, Kwakiutl, Nootka) live in large superterrene wooden houses (1), while it is precisely among them that we find such tribes, whose myths bear the greatest resemblance to those of the inhabitants of the subterranean houses on the Asiatic side of the Pacific Ocean.

It should be noted, however, that the houses of the Tsimshian, Haida and Tlingit have a smoke-hole in the roof similar to those of the earth-huts. The Kwakiutl push aside one or two boards from the roof during the heating.

One tale of the coast tribe Bella Coola, in British Columbia, which belongs to the Salish stock, points to their former possession of subterranean dwellings (2). We also find a reference to the underground house from which the exit is made through the smoke-hole in one myth of another tribe of the Salish stock, the Quinault Indians, who dwell on the Washington coast (3).

Among the coast Athapascan tribe Tsétsáut the house made of bark forms, it is true, a superterrene structure, but for the winter it is arranged to live in like an underground Koryak house. When snow falls very deep, the door is blocked up, and the exit is effected through the roof (4).

The prevalence of underground or semi-subterranean houses formerly existed and is still observed among the inland tribes of the Salish stock. All such earth-huts were and are still used as dwellings only during the winter (5). The smoke-hole in the middle of the roof is used as an entrance, through which one descends into the house by a notched log. As with the Koryaks and the Kamchadal, the hearth is to be found on the

---

(1) Fifth Report on the North-Western Tribes of Canada (British Association for the advancement of Science) p. 818.

(2) Boas, The Bella Coola Indians (Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. I, Part II, p. 79.

(3) Farraud, Traditions of the Quinault Indians (Publications of the Jesup N. P. E., Vol. II, Part III, p. 94).

(4) Tenth Report on the North-Western Tribes of Canada (British Association for advancement of Science) London.

(5) Sixth Report on the North-Western Tribes of Canada, pp. 633, 635.

floor of the bottom of the staircase, under the smoke-hole. The frame of the house is made of poles or timber. Most of these dwellings are circular in shape, though some are square (1). The pit is dug out from twelve to fifteen feet in diameter, and four feet deep. The roof is covered with grass, and the whole of the superterrene part is covered up with earth, so that at a distance the underground house looks like a hill.

We now find such winter dwellings among the Shuswap (2), the Thompson River Indians (3), the Lilooet (4), and on the lower course of the Fraser River (5).

Remnants of ancient underground houses have been found among the Chilcotin (6), in the Thomson River region (7), at the Nicola Lake (8) (Athapascan), and at other places in the interior of British Columbia.

In former times the Missouri tribes used to dwell during the winter in underground huts in the forest (9).

Conclusion.— Many of the subterranean dwellings referred to in this report have not yet been adequately described, and are still awaiting a more detailed investigation. Nevertheless, this cursory review is already sufficient to suggest the idea that not all of the Asio-American tribes above mentioned appeared as independent inventors in the construction of subterranean dwellings. I think that adoption played its part herewhile the climatic conditions contributed to the spread of underground dwellings. The beginning of subterranean structures must have

(1) Teit, The Lillooet Indians (Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. II, Part V), 1906, p. 212.

(2) Sixth Report on the North-Western Tribes of Canada, p. 635.

(3) Teit, Thomson Indians of British Columbia (Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. I, Part IV), p. 193.

(4) Teit, The Lillooet, p. 212.

(5) Sixth Report on the North-Western Tribes of Canada, p. 633.

(6) Twelfth and final Report on the North-Western Tribes of Canada, London, 1898, p. 19.

(7) Smith, The Archæology of Lytton, British Columbia (Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. I, Part III); Archæology of Thomson River Indians (J. N. P. E., Vol. I, Part VI) p. 403.

(8) Smith, Archæology of Thomson River Indians, p. 406.

(9) Ratzel, The History of Mankind, London, 1897, II, p. 45.

coincided with that of the Neolithic Age on the Northern shores and islands of the Pacific Ocean. During the excavations of the ancient earth-huts in that region, there were found everywhere, along with stone instruments made by chipping, also polished implements in some degree or another. Moreover, among the tribes living formerly or now in subterranean houses, we also find, along with the latter, their structures on piles intended as summer-dwellings and storehouses, or storehouses alone. Structures on piles in Europe are referred by archæologists to the Neolithic period.

In investigating the Koryak-Kamchadal myths and religious ideas, I found those myths and beliefs to resemble most the traditions of the Coast Indians of the North Pacific ([1]). In this important factor of material culture, namely in the construction of their dwellings, the Koryak, Kamchadal and the other so-called Paleo-Asiatic tribes bear more resemblance to the Aleut and Eskimo, especially to the Eskimo of Alaska, and only in a certain degree to the Indians of the interior of North America. In some other respects of material life, too, the civilisation of the so-called Paleo-Asiatic tribes stands nearer to the material culture of the Aleut and Eskimo than to that of the Indians.

We thus find a spirit with regard to the resemblance between the civilisation of the Siberian tribes of the North Pacific coast and that of the inhabitants of North-Western America. While in their spiritual culture, the former stand nearer to the coast Indians, they resemble more the Eskimo and the Aleut in their material life. In my opinion, this tends to show that the intercourse of the littoral Siberian tribes of the North Pacific with the Indians was of older date than their relations with the Eskimo. Owing to the special conservation that distinguishes religious ideas and myths, the latter have survived to a considerable extent even after the cessation of the Indian influence on the Paleo-Asiatics, consequent on the invasion of the Eskimo.

(1) Jochelson, The Koryak (Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. VI, Part 1).

DIEGUENO MYTHS

AND THEIR CONNECTIONS WITH THE MOHAVE

PAR Mlle CONSTANCE GODDARD DUBOIS,
Waterbury, Conn.

The Diegueños are a tribe of Mission Indians to be found in scattered settlements in the mountains of San Diego County, California, and are closely allied to the Mohaves, though now separated from them by the desert across which the former originally came. Many of the old men relate the tradition of the migration of their tribe, giving exact details as to the course pursued and the original stopping places of the several families included in it. One of these narrators was an old hechicero of Mesa Grande, called Rafael Charles by the whites, but possessing an unpronounceable Indian surname, Quilpsh. His story, a mere fragment, was as follows: The earth is the woman. The sky is the man. The place the Indians first came from was Wik-a-mee. The place is still to be seen; but it is a place of darkness and mist. If you should try to go to Wik-a-mee you would not be able to find your way in the darkness; but it is in the east, and the Yuma Indians know where it is. If a person wants to be rich and to have money and everything he needs he can get it by going to Wik-a-mee; and if he wants to be a witch-doctor and know everything, he can gain that too by going there. It is always dark at Wik-a-mee.

All the tribes of Indians came from that place. They had only one language then. When Tu-chai-pa and Yo-ko-mat-is made the world it was just for the Indians. They didn't wear clothes then. The women wore little skirts. They had the skins of bears and rabbit-skin blankets, nice and warm. For food they had squirrels and deer, quail, rabbits, elk and mountain sheep. They had to kill with bows and arrows. They poisoned the arrows with various medicines obtained from the hechiceros.

After the Indians were made, Tu-chai-pa and Yo-ko-mat-is scattered them from the place where they were at first. All these Indians, the Diegueños, came from the east. The Quilpshs and Lachusas came together, and the different families came at different times to San Diego, Capitan Grande, etc., and some stopped at all the different places along the way. The Quilpshs (the narrator's family) stopped first at San José. (That is the Valle de San José, Warner's ranch.)

The same migration legend was briefly given by my friend, the hereditary chief of Mesa Grande, who says that his people came originally from the east, his tribe being the first to leave their native home. Some died on the way from hunger and thirst. They went first to Elsinore where the Indians helped to make the lake that is there. Temecula is also mentioned as one of the stopping places where they first settled. Afterwards they went through San Diego to Mesa Grande and the various places where they are now to be found.

It is interesting to note that a line drawn across the desert from Newberry or Dead Mt., Nevada, (Wik-a-mee) through Banning pass, the natural egress, would terminate near Elsinore and Temecula, California.

The origin of the Diegueños in the Newberry Mountain region, according to their myths, will be referred to later.

The mention of Temecula recalls the fact that it is the place of origin of the Luiseños of La Jolla in the mountains, who are indigenous here, if we may believe the testimony of their creation myth. This locality no doubt marked the point of contact of these two tribes. Whatever pressure of Apache or other tribes may have driven the fleeing Diegueños across the desert, many to die of thirst and hunger; and however rude many have been the welcome of some of the earlier settled tribes in California, it must be that they found friends as well as neighbors in these mountain Luiseños; so largely has the influence of the latter prevailed to modify their religious ceremonials, making their ritual identical with that of this alien tribe; while on the other hand towards their point of origin they preserved their natural connections with the Mohaves to whom they are allied by family affinity.

In this interchange of ideas the Diegueños gave as well as

received. It is interesting to determine not only the direction of tribal migrations but also of culture migrations, as it may be termed, the reciprocal influence of neighboring tribes, and the resulting modification of one mythology by another.

The Diegueños have two creator gods, Tu-chai-pa and Yo-ko-mat or Yo-ko-mat-is, brothers, and so closely allied in action that in the Manzanita region the two names are sometimes given in one, as Chai-pa-Ko-mat.

They were brought forth by the Earth-Mother; and the former, Tu-chai-pa was done to death through the evil machinations of the frog.

This is without doubt a primitive Diegueño myth coming to them from the Mohaves or to both from a common source.

It is probable that the Luiseños obtained the frog myth from the Diegueños, incorporating it in their story of Ouiot (pronounced Wee-ote,) one of the First People, he who is now the moon, who dies like Tu-chai-pa, but is not like him a creator god.

The dance for the dead is a primitive Diegueño ceremony. According to their myths, this was first performed in the Mohave country at the sacred mountain Wik-a-mee, and the occasion for it was the burning of the body of Tu-chai-pa.

The people at that time wanted to make the appropriate ceremonial dance for the dead god, but no one knew how to do it. No one had yet danced or sung; so a messenger was sent to the islands of the ocean to ask a mysterious being, Mai-hâ-o-witt, to teach them how to make the fiesta. He came to Wik-a-mee from the ocean in the form of an immense serpent, the trail of whose progress is still to be seen in a white line traced upon the mountains that border the river, (the Colorado).

Since song and dance (that is religious ceremonials of all kinds) had their origin at Wik-a-mee, no Diegueño ceremony is begun without an allusion to this sacred mountain.

Rafael Charles is the only one whom I have heard describe it as hidden in mysterious darkness; but all refer to it as a very sacred place. The mountain is flat on top, and on its bare rocks may be seen the imprint of the naked bodies of the Indians as they sat or stood upon it at the time of their creation.

Through Dr Kroeber I am able to identify this important

locality. « The sacred mountain Wik-a-mee, » he writes, « is exceedingly interesting to me, as it is undoubtedly the sacred mountain of the Mohaves, Aviknamee, known on our maps as Dead or Newberry Mountain, in the very southernmost portion of Nevada on the western bank of the Colorado. This is a mountain intimately associated by the Mohaves with their creation, and almost all their myths either start here or refer to it. »

A myth fragment from Manzanita alludes to this place in another way.

« Near the river at Wik-a-mee, below Mohave, is a smooth round plain, » says my interpreter. « The story is that all birds and animals and people had to run around the edge of this mesa holding their breath. The eagle is the only bird that succeeded in making this circuit, flying swiftly and steadily. Indians still try in vain to run around this mesa holding their breath. »

The most famous myth of the Diegueños is the story of Cuy-a-ho-marr, which came from the Mohaves, or to both tribes from a common source. The name is sufficient indication of its origin, « Ho-mar » being Mohave for « boy. »

The hero is a wonder-working boy whose present manifestation is in the form of a meteoric fire-ball.

His grandmother, Sin-yo-hauch, is so venerated in the ancient religion that the converted Catholic Indians identify her with the Virgin Mary, as the Mexican Indians have done in a similar case. She remains the type of feminine power, and if a woman today shows extraordinary ability her companions will murmur admiringly, « Sin-yo-hauch ! »

The Manzanita version of the myth begins in this way :

The Sky was the man. The Earth was the woman. From their union were born first a man and a woman, and Sin-yo-hauch was their daughter. Sin-yo-hauch's father went up in the sky and she was left alone. She went towards the east crawling as a baby on hands and knees, and then when she was grown she walked back west as far as the Mohave river. (That is, the river of the Mohaves, the Colorado.) There is a sharp rock in the middle of the river called Wé-ku-rutút (Spear-rock) which is still to be seen there ; and in that neighborhood was

her home. West of the river is a cave, a big house where she lived till she was grown.

Dr. Kroeber says : « The Spear-rock is undoubtedly known to the Mohaves and by comparing notes closely we shall no doubt be able to identify this also. »

One of the songs sung by a Diegueño Indian into my graphophone is that of a Mohave wild-cat dance. In this dance the men stand in opposite lines and dance facing each other. This was taught to my singer by a Diegueño desert Indian who learned it from the Yumas who obtained it from the Mohaves.

Old Ha-ta-kek of Manzanita, who in former days was leader of Diegueño tribal ceremonies, sang for me the songs of a Mohave religious dance called Tu-to-mump, which, originating with the Mohaves, extended as far as Colorado river and was brought from there to Manzanita. My records preserving these songs are in the New-York Museum of Natural History, the Museum having aided me with funds for their collection.

In Tu-to-munp, the old singer used the Mohave language, and when he translated some of the songs into Diegueño, the names remained Mohave.

It is evident from the above that a close connection exists between the Mohave and the Diegueño ; that the myths of the latter are derived from the former, or the two from a common source ; and that the migration legend universally told among the Diegueños of the California mountains is founded on fact.

The many languages of California must evidence a succession of migration waves ; and we are fortunate if we are able to trace one of these with sufficient evidence to establish its probability.

It is to be hoped that further research may throw more light upon these tribal connections.

TWO TYPES OR STYLES

OF

DIEGUENO RELIGIOUS DANCING

THE OLD AND THE NEW

IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

PAR Melle CONSTANCE GODDARD DUBOIS

It must be understood that all tribal ceremonies, religious dances etc., exist among the Mission Indians only as fragments of an almost forgotten past. Since these Indians have been under the influence of the white man's civilization for nearly a hundred and fifty years, it is only among a few old men, rapidly passing away, that one can find a knowledge of the ancient religion and a devotion to it which has persisted beneath an outward acceptance of the new.

I was fortunate in witnessing a religious dance of the most ancient and primitive type ; for I doubt if there is more than one old man in Southern California who can conduct a ceremony of this sort today. Hatakek of Manzanita, a tiny Indian village near the Mexican line, is the only man living in that region who knows all the songs of the Image fiesta, or dance for the dead ; and he his sent for as far as Yuma when this dance is to be performed. He also knows, and gave for my benefit, an all-night dance of the sort mentioned above. This was a bird dance, something after the style of the wild-cat dance, called Ee-sha at Manzanita, (Ah-sha in the Mesa Grande dialect) this being the name of a red-feathered bird. Like all these dances it is accompanied by a series of songs, each one brief but of definite meaning, and having a connection with some mythical legend, to discover which, as a link between the numerous songs, is difficult and often impossible.

A double line of men and women should dance to the accompaniment of the leader's rattle; the men's voices swelling the song and the women's rising from the background as a shrill monotonous chorus. So long forgotten is the past among the half starving remnant of dispossessed Indians in the Campo-Manzanita region, that only three men joined old Hatakek in the dance, and for lack of women my interpreter took his place in the rear and sang the women's part in high falsetto. The effect might have been ludicrous were it not for the religious devotion displayed in the performance, the task being a difficult one for unaccustomed muscles; for the dance, once begun, must be continued all night.

The songs did not differ greatly from those I have heard elsewhere among the Diegueños. One is impressed with the wonderful memory required to give the series in order with differing words and tune.

I could not learn the meaning of all the songs, for the dance could not be interrupted; but one is about the dark night. Another names the stars and declares that dawn is near. In another the bird, Ee-sha, is mentioned whose name is given to the dance.

The unique feature of the performance is the style of the dancing which is strikingly different from that which prevails elsewhere among the Mission Indians. The dancers in this performance remain throughout in the same place, the motion not being forward and back, or around and about, but consisting simply in moving and stamping the feet in varied measure according to the rhythm of the songs, bending and swaying the body, then straightening with a grunt or groan, and a pause for rest and to mark the interval between the songs. There is something extremely impressive in the restrained intensity of the movement.

Contrasted with this, the other type of dancing, to be witnessed at Mesa Grande, etc., is like an elaborate theatrical performance.

In it the dancers enter the circle. The leader bends before the chief who is seated on the ground near the central bonfire, and receives from him the word or subject of each song or part of the dance. He takes it up humming it or singing very softly

at first, and the others follow his lead, the women's voices chiming in at the appropriate moment. The music rises in volume, becoming energetic, frenzied at times, and the motions of the body correspond.

At first the dancers move in an irregular circle, and the monotonous stamping of the feet is accompanied by a grunt at intervals. Our word « grunt » by no means expresses this sound, which while unmelodious seems a part of the music, and is as impressive as it is energetic. Arms are extended, flexed and relaxed, at first gently ; but as the stamping grows more violent and the song or grunting louder, every muscle becomes tense. The women's voices seem to rouse to fury. The bent arms are raised above the heads. Occasionally a dancer breaks away from the rest, circles like a dervish, claps his hands with a wild ha-ha, and returns to his place.

The perfect unison and accurate measure of songs and movements is remarkable. As suddenly as a stone falls song and dance cease. A long drawn ha-ha-ha, a shuddering expiration with falling cadence, closes the scene ; the dancers break anks and move off, and one part of the dance is completed. In a short time they re-form and continue the animated performance.

In one of the dances they enter on hands and knees with wild cries and groans as of the animals which they represent. The chief stands in the centre of the circle and receives them with a feathered staff with which he lightly touches each as if to exorcise some evil power.

Dramatic effectiveness is the quality of this sort of dancing. The contrast between the two forms is extremely striking.

I was fortunate enough to discover the historical connection between them. The Luiseños of La Jolla in the mountains, who are closely allied to the Diegueños ceremonially while quite distinct from them in language and origin, informed me that the quiet sort of dancing which I had seen at Manzanita was the original and ancient form ; and that the dramatically violent sort with the moving about and the varied gestures was taught a long time ago to the Indians of the back-country and the mountains by an emissary from the coast Indians who went about

introducing new ceremonies in the Chung-itch-nish worship, and the new style of religious dancing.

This now prevails to the exclusion of the old, having spread from the Luiseños to the Diegueños, but never having reached Manzanita where the connections are through Yuma with the Mohaves, and Luiseño influence has not made itself felt.

RECENT CAVE EXPLORATION

IN CALIFORNIA

PAR JOHN-C. MERRIAM
Professeur à l'Université de Californie, Berkeley

INTRODUCTION

During the last three years a series of investigations has been carried on by the Department of Anthropology of the University of California, with a view to determining, if possible, the time when man first appeared in this region. As cavern deposits have furnished some of the most important materials in the study of early man in other regions, it was considered desirable, as one of the phases of this work, to make a careful paleontological and archeological investigation of the numerous limestone caves of the states. In this study the effort has been made to obtain as complete a knowledge as possible of the mammalian faunas which have existed in this region between early Quaternary time and the present. Man is considered as a possible element of the fauna, and so far as his geographic or his geologic occurrence is concerned he must be subjected to investigations of much the same character as are used in the study of other organisms. Until the facts of this class are determined, it is difficult to make a beginning on matters which are perhaps more definitely anthropological.

The discovery of human relics, apparently in association with remains belonging to a Quaternary fauna, in the extreme southern portion of South America leads one to suspect that an early migration of the human type may have passed over North America into South America. That other mammalian types came into America in fairly recent geological time we know, and there is no inherent improbability in the theory that man came

with the other mammals. If his remains are found with a Quaternary fauna in the southern continent, there is good reason why we should search for them here.

Up to the present time only a few caves situated in Calaveras county and in Shasta county have been examined. Many other occurrences are known, but limitations of time have made it impossible to visit these localities. One would hardly be justified in stating that as yet more than a beginning has been made on the possible cave investigations of California. It is to be hoped that in time these studies, in connection with the other phases of this work, may give us some definite information regarding the date of man's appearance in the Pacific Coast region.

MERCER'S CAVE

In the summer of 1901 Professor F. W. Putnam and the writer examined several caves in the vicinity of Murphys, Calaveras county, and in 1902 Dr W. J. Sinclair visited a number of caverns in the same region. The most interesting remains encountered were those in the well-known Mercer's cave near Murphys. In this cavern there were found a number of bones of an extinct ground-sloth, which has recently been described by Dr Sinclair as the type of a new species, *Megalonyx sierrensis* (1). The bones of this animal were covered with a deposit of stalagmite, ranging from a few millimeters to about half an inch in thickness. From their situation it appeared that the body of the animal had fallen into the main chute of the cave, and in the process of decay the remains had been scattered for a considerable distance along the passageway. In the same cavern, although not in close proximity to the *Megalonyx* remains, there were found a number of human bones bearing a very thin calcareous incrustation. It appears that in this region it has been at some time the custom of the aborigines to throw the bodies of their dead into such caverns as this, and in places great numbers of skeletons have accumulated. The human bones found in this cave were in such position as to indicate that they

(1) Wm. J. Sinclair, New Mammalia from the Quaternary Caves of California, *Publ. Univ. Calif.*, vol. 4, no. 7, p. 155.

had been thrown into the first chamber through the small opening above, while the *Megalonyx* remains had fallen some distance below this chamber. While it is exceedingly difficult to form any estimate of the relative ages of the human bones and the *Megalonyx* remains, such evidence as we have seems to indicate that the remains of man are the younger, as they are nearer the opening and are covered with a much thinner layer of stalagmitic material. The human bones are, however, probably many years old. While the relative thickness of the covering of stalagmite is in itself no absolute criterion as to the age of the enclosed material, as it may accumulate very rapidly in one place and very slowly in another place, it is probable that the thinner layer on the human bones means a shorter period of entombment.

POTTER CREEK CAVE

The most extensive investigations of the caverns have been carried on in Shasta county. In this region two large caves have been very carefully explored and the principal deposits almost completely worked over. These are Potter Creek cave, on the McCloud river, near Baird, and the Samwel cave, on the same river, fifteen miles above Baird.

Potter Creek cave was the first to be the subject of careful investigation. It was discovered in 1878 by Mr. J. A. Richardson, and by him several specimens of fossil bones were sent to Professor E. D. Cope. In the summer of 1902, Mr. E. L. Furlong explored the cave again without knowing that it was the one discovered by Mr. Richardson. Large deposits of fossil remains were found, and excavation work was carried on by him and by Dr Sinclair through that season. Throughout the whole of the summer of 1903 the work was in charge of Dr Sinclair, whose excellent report (1) on this work has already been published. The floor of the cave was carefully surveyed and all specimens taken out were labeled with reference to their position in the strata. The deposits were excavated to a depth of 25 feet, below which there seemed to be little but an accumu-

(1) *Publ. Univ. Calif.*, North Amer. Archæol. and Ethnol., vol. 2, no. 1.

lation of stalagmite-covered bowlders. The exploration work furnished several thousand bones and fragments, of which between 4,000 and 5,000 were determinable specimens. The remains include those of many extinct animals, and furnish the most satisfactory representation of the Quaternary fauna of California that has yet been obtained in any one locality. Fifty-two species were listed by Dr Sinclair, of which at least twenty-one were found to be extinct.

Associated with the remains of the Quaternary fauna in Potter Creek cave there were many broken, splintered, and polished bones, which were carefully investigated by Dr Sinclair, having been considered as possibly representing the work of man. The presence of the splintered bones is yet to be thoroughly satisfactorily explained, though there are many ways in which they might have been formed or introduced. In the caves of Europe such splintered bones are in part due to the splintering of long-bones of large mammals by man, and in part to the crushing of such bones by the larger carnivores.

The character of the pointed and polished bones figured by Dr Sinclair in his paper is also difficult to determine with certainty. These polished fragments strongly resemble many of the roughest implements found in the deposits of the shell-mounds of the Pacific coast. Possibly they have been rough bone splinters, used by man until they attained the degree of polish which we find upon them. On the other hand it is noted that in nearly all shell-mound fragments the polish is mainly upon the pointed portion of the implement, while the portions not used for active work may be almost without smoothing or polish. In the specimens from the caves the polish is almost perfectly even over the whole surface in every case. The evenness of this polish seems to indicate that, if these objects were used as implements, special pains must have been taken to polish those portions which would in the course of ordinary use be left rough. Such smoothing as we see here may perhaps be as readily explained by the action of water as by any other means, the fragments being rubbed on all sides and evenly polished.

In other bone fragments, peculiar perforations and notches have been noted which are not easily explained by the operation of natural processes, but which could be accounted for by per-

foration through human agency. Of all the evidence which has been advanced in favor of the influence of man in the production of implement-like objects found in the Shasta caves, the evidence of perforation seems probably the strongest. A serious doubt must exist, however, as to whether the presence of only a few somewhat indefinite perforations in a very small number out of several thousand of these fragments should be considered proof of the presence of man. Had a large percentage of the fragments been formed and used by man, evidence of a more definite character ought to be present in abundance.

While it is probably true that as yet no unequivocal evidence of the agency of man in the fashioning of the bone fragments from this cave has been presented, in all fairness to those who may undertake from the study of such materials to give us something of the earliest history of the human race, we should not forget that, at the very period where the discrimination between artifacts and natural objects is most important it becomes most difficult. In the early stages of the development of man, such implements as were used by him were probably in many cases simply special forms of natural objects which were, in their original form, well adapted to meet his primitive needs. The earliest true artifacts were objects of this class showing only a little modification.

A more detailed discussion of the peculiarly marked bone fragments from the California caves has been presented by Professor F. W. Putnam in a paper on this subject.

SAMWEL CAVE

The exploration of the Samwel cave, in the Shasta region, has been carried on by Mr. E. L. Furlong through parts of the seasons 1903, 1904, and 1905 (1). This cave is somewhat larger than the one at Potter creek and contains several chambers of considerable size. The largest chamber had not been entered previous to 1903, when it was explored by Mr. Furlong and the writer.

(1) The explorations during the season of 1905 were carried on under an appropriation from the Archaeological Institute of America for the « Exploration of Caves in Northern California under the supervision of F. W. Putnam. »

Opening into one of the passageways about 100 feet from the entrance is a fissure containing a small alluvial fan, which opens out on the floor of the chamber. This deposit appears to have accumulated through the entrance of material from the upper part of the fissure. The entrance is now closed with a stalagmite growth, and no clue to its position has yet been obtained from the study of the surface of the rock outside. In small pockets on the sides of the fissure, and in the deposit below, there have been found large numbers of bone fragments representing a Quaternary fauna. These include remains of extinct species (1) of *Equus*, *Elephas*, and *Ursus;* also remains of *Euceratherium* (2), a recently described sheep-like ungulate found in these caves, and bones of a ground-sloth somewhat similar to forms found in the caves of Brazil (3).

The largest chamber of the Samwel cave is at a lower level than the entrance and the fissure deposit. It was entered from above through a long chimney. In this chamber there was found a large deposit of fossil remains, including numerous extinct species. Among these, were *Euceratherium*, *Preptoceras* (4) (another new sheep-like form,) and a ground-sloth. It seemed improbable that the remains in this lower chamber had come in through the passage by which we first obtained entrance, and a careful search revealed the presence of an alluvial fan coming in from one side of the cavern. Excavations into this indicated that it reached out toward the surface, and during the last season a passageway was cut through it to an outer grotto on the side of a small cañon near by. The lower chamber was originally reached by a passageway leading from a large shelter cave now represented by the grotto. A part of the roof of the original shelter has broken down, and is represented by several large blocks which have fallen from the cliff above.

In the Samwel cave numerous splintered and polished bone fragments have been obtained, and the problems with relation to man are practically the same as those of Potter Creek cave. In

(1) See E. L. Furlong in *Science*, n. s., vol. 20, p. 53.
(2) Sinclair and Furlong, *Univ. Calif. Publ.*, Geology, vol. 3, no. 20.
(3) Sinclair, New Mammalia, op. cit., p. 153.
(4) E. L. Furlong, *Univ. Calif. Publ.*, Geology, vol. 4, no. 8.

addition to these objects, there was found in the chamber near the fissure deposit, a chipped fragments of basaltic lava, which appeared to have come from a point six inches below the surface of the stalagmite. Also in the excavation of the outer grotto of the largest chamber, a chipped obsidian fragment was brought up in the bucket from a depth of eleven feet, at which level bones resembling those of an extinct species have been obtained. In neither case, however, was the chipped fragment actually seen in place, and both must be set aside, for the present, as merely suggesting the presence of man.

STONE MAN CAVE

A third cavern in the Shasta region, which has been partly explored, is the Stone Man cave about one mile northeast of Baird. It was visited by Mr. Furlong and the writer in 1903. In one of the uppermost chambers a number of bone fragments were found in the stalagmite. These were, however, too imperfect for specific determination, and the age of the deposit has not been determined. In one of the lower galleries, a portion of a human skeleton was found imbedded in the stalagmite. The greater number of the bones had been removed before our visit, but enough was left to show that a considerable fraction of an inch of stalagmite has accumulated on the skeleton. Mr. J. A. Richardson kindly gave us a vertebra which he obtained here when the cave was first explored. It seems to have lost practically all of the organic matter, and the cavities in the bone are largely filled with calcite crystals. In this cave there is unfortunately nothing to fix the age of the skeleton definitely. It might easily be many centuries old, or might have come to its present location at a comparatively recent date, though evidence rather favors a considerable antiquity.

AGE OF THE CAVE DEPOSITS

The faunas of both the Potter Creek and the Samwel cave indicate Quaternary age. As far as is now known, the fauna of Samwel cave contains the larger percentage of recent species and is probably the younger. In addition to this evidence, the situation of the two caverns gives considerable information

regarding their relative ages. Potter Creek cave is situated at a height of 800 feet above the level of McCloud river, and just below an ancient terrace level of the river. The Samwel cave is situated just below a terrace 350 feet above the McCloud. The lowest chamber of this cave opens at a point not more than 200 feet above the river. Both caverns were evidently formed at a time when McCloud river was near the level of the terraces above them. Both received their principal deposits when the river was a short distance below them, and it is evident that the time which has elapsed since the formation of the deposits in Potter Creek cave is much greater than that since the formation of similar beds in the Samwel cave. The evidence of physiography apparently corroborates that obtained from the study of the fauna.

The fauna of Potter Creek cave is considered by Dr Sinclair to represent the middle or later Quaternary. The fauna of Samwel cave is certainly Quaternary, but is evidently later than that of Potter Creek. The age of Potter Creek cave is, according to commonly accepted correlations, not far from that of the earliest deposits containing human remains in Europe. Though a reasonable doubt might arise as to whether man could have reached America as early as the date of the Potter Creek deposits, the age of Samwel cave appears to be within the period of man's existence in the old world.

From the evidence at hand it se[illegible]hat both Mercer's cave and Stone Man cave were i[illegible] existenc[illegible]Quaternary time, and in all probability some of the deposits in [illegible]oth caverns were formed in that period.

THE ARMADILLO

IN THE ANCIENT ART OF CHIRIQUI

PAR GEORGE GRANT MACCURDY
Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

The Chiriquian antiquities belonging to Yale University number several thousand specimens. The choicest of these were collected from 1859 to 1866 by M. A. de Zeltner (1), French Consul at Panama, whose good fortune it was to be resident there at the time of the first discoveries. The major part of the collec‘ on, however, was made by Mr. J. A. McNeil a few years later. The de Zeltner collection was bought in 1872 and that of McNeil in 1878, both having been purchased by the late Professor Othniel C. Marsh. They include gold objects, stone implements, metates, stools of stone (and earthen ware) and a series of pottery unsurpassed in the number of its rare and valuable specimens.

These treasures have been in storage for about thirty years, there being no facilities for exhibition or even for study. Fortunately a room is now at the disposal of the Curator, who is preparing a monograph on the *Antiquities from Chiriqui belonging to Yale University.*

The present paper is confined to special features of a portion of the pottery alone, as indicated by the title, and is to a certain extent a study in conventionalism.

In the development of art it would be difficult to estimate how far realism lies from the very first steps toward imitation on the one hand, and from the last stages of conventionalism on the other. The stages at either end of the line may often appear to be identical. It is therefore hazardous to say whether a given representation be a first attempt at copying a model or the work

(1) *Note sur les sépultures indiennes du département de Chiriqui* (État de Panama). Panama, 1866.

of one with a background of art inheritance and training, who can suggest the whole by a skilful elimination of non-essentials.

If the line of art development were plotted it would probably be found to rise rather suddenly to the acme of realism and then drop slowly to about its original level. The series of illustrations that follows, however, does not begin at the beginning, but rather at the crest of the realistic wave, and descends gradually to the trough, probably the one that lies on the conventional side ; yet some of the stages shown might just as well be steps in the ascending, as in the descending scale. In other words, a definite chronological sequence has not yet been established. There are reasons, however, for the belief that a representation of the entire armadillo came first, after which certain parts, such as the carapace, were seized upon to take the place of the whole ; and finally that a single band of the carapace was chosen not only to stand for the whole animal, but also to serve as an ornamental motive pure and simple.

Among the animals represented in the ceramic art of the Province of Chiriqui, the armadillo is predominant. In speaking of the American zoological provinces north and south of the Mexican table-land, Seemann (1) says : « The armadillo, for instance, which indisputably belongs to South America, is found in no part of Panama ; but again appears in the neighborhood of Mazatlan, in latitude 26 12′ north. »

Seemann's statement is probably incorrect. A recent letter from Dr. J. A. Allen, Curator of the Department of Mammalogy and Ornithology, American Museum of Natural History, states that two species belonging to different genera are found on the Isthmus of Panama at the present time, one now known as *Cabassous centralis*, the other being the wide-ranging, nine-banded armadillo, *Tatu novemcinctum*. The armadillo was evidently an object familiar to the ancient potters of Chiriqui. As it now inhabits the Isthmus, it did so, no doubt, on the occasion of Seemann's voyage in 1853. One of the two species above mentioned, *Tatu novemcinctum*, which has « an extensive range from Texas to Paraguay (2), » is recognized in the ceramic

(1) *Voyage of H. M. S. Herald.* London, 1853.

(2) Flower and Lydekker.

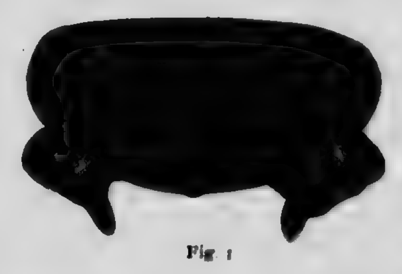


Fig. 1

art of Chiriqui by the treatment of the carapace. It will be seen from Plate I that the carapace of *Tatu novemcinctum* is composed of three quite distinct regions, the median or banded region differing from the anterior and posterior sections in structure. This triple division of the carapace is faithfully reproduced in many instances. It may be done by means of three incised fillets, as in figures 1 and 3, and *a* of Plate IV. A more faithful delineation, however, is arrived at when the banded region is represented by transverse parallel lines and the anterior and posterior divisions by cross lines or spots (see figs. *f* and *g* of Pl. XII).

That *Cabassous centralis* also served the ancient potter as a model is highly probable. The three regions of the carapace are almost as distinct as in the nine-banded armadillo, but *Cabassous* is not quite so large and its head, ears and tail are proportionately shorter.

In figure *h* of Plate XII, which resembles more nearly the little *Tatu tricinctum* of South America than it does the larger nine-banded species, the middle section is composed of three bands in relief, painted red, while over the shoulders and hips, the smooth surface of the carapace is painted black. Still another method of distinguishing the middle section of the carapace from the hip and shoulder sections is shown in figure *b* of Plate II.

Three realistic armadillos support the tripod in figure 1 (1). The



Fig. 2

(1) The illustrations are from one-half to one-fifth actual size.



Fig. 3

work has an unfinished appearance, but the parts are all represented, even to the three regions of the carapace. In figure 2, the parts are all suggested, but the legs of each armadillo are reduced to feet only. The reduction is carried further by the elimination of the hind legs and feet altogether in figure 3. In the three foregoing figures, the carapace is represented by incised fillets of clay. The extremities are entirely wanting in figure 4; the carapace is indicated simply by horizontal incised lines, and there is but a mere suggestion of a head. By leaving out the trilobed lump representing head and ears in the latter, the simple tripod leg, incised horizontally to represent the carapace (fig. 5) is reached. After all, that suffices, for the carapace is the one essential feature of the armadillo.

A more detailed series to show the gradual elimination of non-essential parts is given in Plate II. The armadillo is well represented in the round in figure *a*. In figure *b* a simple tripod support is incised to represent the three regions of the carapace; an indifferent head is added and the hind feet are carried forward close to the fore feet. The hind feet in figure *c* have disappeared. The fore feet are becoming conventionalized in figure *d* and the head is turned so as to face the beholder. The carapace begins to disappear in figure *e*. No feet are left in figure *f*, and the head is treated in summary fashion. Nail marks of a female hand are distributed over the back to suggest the carapace. There is no carapace in figure *g* and the head and fore feet are merely plain lumps of clay. In figure *h* only the node representing the head remains, while in figure *i* nothing is left but the carapace, the armadillo motive *par excellence*.



Fig. 4



Fig. 5

The foregoing tripods all belong to what Holmes (¹) calls the *terra-cotta* or *biscuit* group of ware. This group also comprises vases, bowls and cups. The characteristic types of tripod are well rendered in the preceding illustrations, the ornament being confined to the supports. Among the vases, on the other hand, the decoration is shifted to the shoulder, neck and handles, there being no supports to decorate. In shape the body of the vase is often identical with that of the tripod. To convert a tripod into a vase, one has but to remove the applied supports. To make the kinship more apparent, shoulder ornaments or handles are sometimes added to the tripods (see figs. *a*, *b*, *d* and *e* of Pl. XII). Such additions, especially of handles, are quite rare.

We have seen that many tripod supports were so fashioned as to suggest the armadillo, sometimes highly realistic and sometimes conventional. In eighty-one of the biscuit vases, the head of the armadillo is employed as a shoulder ornament, the back of the head always being turned toward the aperture of the vase. The carapace, therefore, if it were visible at all would have to be shifted from the dorsal to the ventral side. Such is the case in figure 6, where the three regions of the carapace are indicated by three indented horizontal



Fig. 6

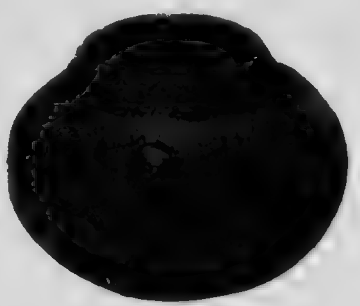
(1) *Ancient Art of the Province of Chiriqui.* Sixth Annual Rept., Bur. of Amer. Ethnol.


Fig 7

fillets, each being interrupted for a space in the median ventral line. A ventral view would include the margins of the carapace on either side. It is important to note, however, that no attempt is made to represent the dorsal part of the carapace where it would not be easily visible; also, that in three specimens, two of which are figured (Pl. XI, fig. *b*, Pl. XII, fig. *c*), the carapace is carried across the ventral surface without a break in the median line. The identity of these shoulder ornaments might be in doubt were it not for the occasional, ventrally placed carapace motives.

Only two divisions of the carapace are present in figure 7, while in figure 8, but a single section remains. The eyes and ears, however, still persist. One of the connecting links between the tripods and vases (fig. *a* of Pl. XII) belongs to this type. A single element of the carapace is placed on the ventral side, the ends of the two incised fillets almost touching the median ventral line, while another carapace element is applied longitudinally over the vertebral column. The eyes, ears and nose are all prominent. In a majority of cases the carapace is entirely eliminated, the fore legs usually and quite naturally taking its place (fig. 9). These are shortened to incised nodes, representing the feet only, in figure 10, one of the largest *terra-cotta* vases in the collection.

The animal foot reduced to its lowest terms is given in figure 11 (see also fig. *d* of Pl. II), it being a flattened node with parallel incisions. This conventionalized foot will appear as a simple ornament in a group of vases to be described later.


Fig. 8

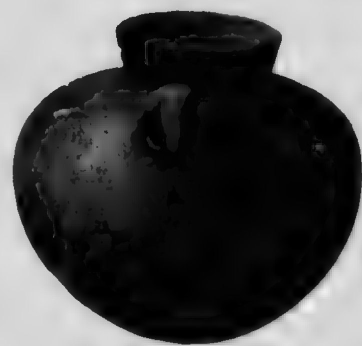


Fig. 9

Even the conventionalized foot does not always accompany the armadillo head, as in figure 12. Feet, eyes and ears have all disappeared in figure 13. It will be seen from the foregoing that the ears persist after the eyes have disappeared. The reduction in parts and in size of the head itself reaches its limit in figure 14.

Progressive conventionalism in the treatment of the armadillo head is also shown in Plate III. In figure *a*, the entire fore leg is represented. The central figure (*c*) is one of the four largest vases belonging to this group of ware. The shape is graceful and the modeling perfect. The ears of the armadillo are placed low, the eyes are wanting and the nose is depressed.

The entire armadillo is often used also as a shoulder decoration on vases of the *biscuit* group. A good example is given in figure *a*, Plate IV, where the parts, even the three regions of the carapace, are all fairly well indicated. The fore feet rest on the rim, the hind feet on the shoulder of the vessel. In a small vase from Escaria (fig. *b*) the armadillo is placed somewhat lower and in an attitude that suggests the act of burrowing with its unusually long nose. The burrowing attitude is, in fact, characteristic and is very satisfactorily shown in figure *c*. Note that the feet are flattened nodes with parallel incisions. In other words, they are the foot symbol that may be used entirely alone, independent of the animal form to which the foot originally belonged, as will be seen in subsequent illustrations (Pl. IV, fig. *d* and Pl. VII, figs. *a*, *b*, *d* and *e*). The tail is incised with a so-



Fig 10



Fig. 11

called herring-bone pattern, the lines running, however, in the opposite direction from what one would expect. The flaring rim of the vase is set so as to produce a diaphragm where the neck is most constricted.

The use of the foot symbol as an independent ornament is shown in figure *d*, Plate IV, where it occurs in pairs on the neck of the vase. In figure *e* of Plate IV, the feet are somewhat lengthened, giving rise to another type of foot symbol, of which the ornament carried around the neck of the vase in figure *a*, Plate V, is a good example.

By a comparison of the armadillo tails in figures *e*, Plate IV, and *b*, Plate V, with the ornament on the neck of the vase in figure *c*, Plate V, it will be seen that the tail was used independently of the animal as a decorative feature (see also Pl. VI).

The most characteristic feature of the armadillo is its carapace. It has been seen how it was used as the armadillo motive. It has also been seen how one member of the carapace was made to stand for all the members. Why could it not have been used independently to represent not only the whole carapace, but also the whole animal? A careful comparison of the incised fillets that adorn the neck of the vase in figure *d*, Plate V, with the incised fillet that represents the carapace of the armadillo

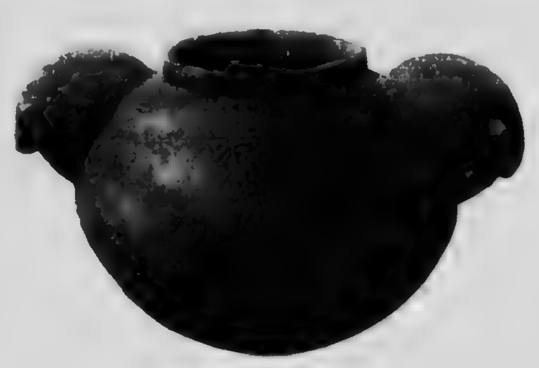


Fig. 12

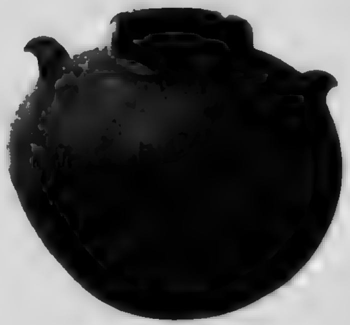


Fig. 13

on the shoulder below proves them to be identical. There is, then, a carapace symbol (see also Pl. VII, figs. *c* and *d*) as well as a foot symbol and a tail symbol. There remain the flattened nodes with annular indentations on the neck of the same vase. Their counterpart is somewhat sparingly used to represent the eye, particularly of owl-like and monkey-like heads. They are, no doubt, eye symbols, but are not confined to Chiriquian art. On the contrary, this particular ornament is common to the art of almost all times and peoples.

An illustration of the freedom with which the armadillo form is sometimes treated is given in figure *e* of Plate V. The body is quite short and the long tail is curled to one side until the end of it is hidden beneath the carapace.

It has been seen how a single unit of the carapace may stand for the whole, how these carapace units, like the tail, foot and eye symbols, become pure decorative elements. One very effective pattern is obtained by carrying carapace or tail symbols in meander around the neck of vases, each angular space being marked by a foot or an eye symbol (Pls. VI, fig. *e* and VII, fig. *d*). Attention is called, by way of illustration, to the tail symbols in Plate VI; and the foot symbols (figs. *a*, *b*, *d* and *e*), the carapace symbols (figs. *d* and *c*) and the eye symbols or ornaments (figs. *c*, *e* and *f*) in Plate VII. The eye symbol in figure *c* of this Plate is one of the common forms of eye in Chiriquian art, viz., a flattened node, with annular indentations. The slender



Fig. 14


Fig 15

neck of a graceful bottle from Divata (fig. 15) is decorated with a series of compound eye symbols.

In the collection there are several vases with two mouths. With two exceptions, they all belong to the *biscuit* ware. Figure 16 is an example. A bridge connects the flange or lip of one mouth with that of the other. Over this bridge two armadillos face each other. The identity of the carapace with the carapace symbols that adorn both necks is beyond question. Alternating with these are eye ornaments after the fashion of the prevailing eye form in Chiriquian art.

Reference has been made to tripods with features peculiar to vases, viz., shoulder ornaments consisting either of the armadillo head or of the entire armadillo. Examples of the latter are given in figures *d* and *e*, Plate XII. In one instance the nose and tail are long and slender; in the other the nose is almost eliminated to avoid breakage, due to the exposed position of the head. The tripod supports in figure *e* are highly realistic representations of the frog with head turned downward, the point of contact being the tip of the nose.

It has been shown how the single tripod support may be transformed into the armadillo, conventional as well as realistic; also how the armadillo as a whole or in part was used as a shoulder ornament, and the tail, foot, eye and carapace symbols as ornamental motives for the necks of vases. The same decorative phenomena are to be seen on the handles of vases.


Fig 16

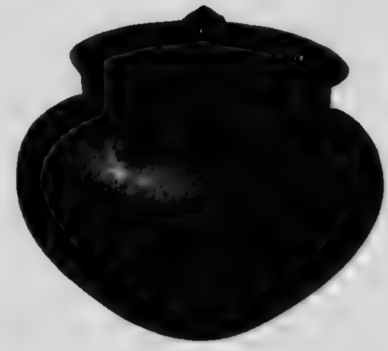


Fig. 17

The handles of the biscuit group are always placed vertically, and are usually paired, connecting the lip with the shoulder (Pl. VIII, figs. *a*–*c*). There are two types of single handle: (1) connecting the lip with the shoulder, as in the paired handles (fig. *f*), and (2) the handle starting from opposite points on the lip and forming an arch over the mouth opening (fig. *e*).

An example of one type of single handle is given in figure *d*, Plate VIII. A well-developed flange protects the applied tail and eye symbols about the neck of the vase. Where ornaments are applied to the neck or collar, there is always a flange or lip at the mouth opening as if to satisfy the sense not only of protection but also of appropriateness in outline. On the crest of the handle, three eyes in a row occupy a field bounded on two sides by carapace symbols.

These handles are, as a rule, ornamented. In Plate VIII, figure *a*, the paired handles are covered with incised fillets representing the carapace of the armadillo. Along the zone of union between the prolonged lip and ascending ramus of the handles in figure *b*, nodes and fillets are applied, representing the ears, feet and carapace of the armadillo. One has but to refer back to figure *a* of Plate IV in order to arrive at the artist's point of view, namely, that the handles in figures *a*, *b* and *c* of Plate VIII are, to all intents and purposes, armadillos facing each other and peeping into the mouth of the vase. Instead of incised applied fillets, the handle itself may be simply incised to represent the armadillo carapace, as in figure *c*. From the horizontally applied fillets and the horizontally incised handles, it is but a step to fillets and incisions running obliquely and a second step to the twisted handle so common in the *tripod* group, so-called, as will be seen by comparing figures *a* and *c* with Plate IX, figures *a*—*d*, respectively. In figure *c*, the eyes are

actually represented, so that the twisted handle evidently means a life form, probably the armadillo.

Hitherto the ornamentation has been chiefly the work of the sculptor or engraver. A new force in the domain of decoration has now to be reckoned with, viz., color or, rather, paint (see Pls. IX, figs. *a*—*d* and X, figs. *d*—*g*. Whether or not the summary fashion in which the paint is here applied represents the beginning of a new art era or a decadent phase of the same, it is not within the province of the present study to determine. It is, however, worth while to note the effect of the painter's work on that of the sculptor and engraver, where all three are combined in one whole. In the first place they do not overlap. The work of the sculptor is confined to handles. These are never painted. The engraver has chosen the shoulder and neck or collar for his field of operations. The incised areas are never painted.

The familiar carapace symbol appears in figure *d*, Plate X. The life form in figure *e* is probably the same thing. There is an unmistakable carapace symbol in figure *f*, a large vase with a uniform coat of red paint covering the entire exterior with the exception of the handles and lip. The inner surface of the latter leading down to the orifice is painted however.

An unusual treatment of the armadillo is that in Plate X, figure *a*. The head barely protrudes beyond the carapace and the latter almost encircles the body of the animal. A long fillet encircling a head on the flat handle in figure *b* may be a highly conventionalized form of the armadillo rolled up for defense or repose; or it may represent a view of the animal from directly in front, as seen in the preceding figure (see also Pl. X, figs. *c* and *g*).

There is a variety of biscuit ware usually highly polished and with a salmon-colored slip. The form and technique exhibited in the salmon-colored ware also differ somewhat from the ordinary *biscuit* pottery. On the handles in figure *e* of Plate IX are not only the three divisions of the carapace but also a pair of ears (compare with Pl. IV, fig. *a* and Pl. VIII, figs. *a* and *b*).

Mention has already been made of the armadillo rolled up for defense or repose. The head projecting from the shoulder

of a salmon-colored vase (Pl. X, fig. *c*) and encircled by two incised fillets may be, perhaps, a conventionalized rendering of the same idea (see Pl. X, figs. *b* and *g*). This might be, with propriety, taken for a coiled serpent, were it not for the fact that representation of the serpent on Chiriquian pottery is almost wholly confined to one small group the so-called *black incised* ware of Holmes, where the serpent motive is so all pervading as to justify a change of the name from «black incised» to the *serpent* group.

The vertical handles of some of the vessels belonging to the black incised group of ware are provided with an indented fillet resembling the carapace symbol.

The rolled up armadillo probably recurs in Plate X, figure *g*. It has already been noted in figures *b* and *c*. Alternating with the two armadillo motives on the collar of this vase are two incised triangular patterns. The surface below the collar is smoked and sooty, a condition common to the *handled* group, at least 75% of which have been used over the fire.

Figure 17 is the type for the unpainted *handled* ware. Each of the paired handles is a raised horizontal loop fitting close against the neck of the vase. By the application of nodes and fillets, the handle is transformed into the head, shoulders and fore legs of the armadillo. To make sure of its identity, the carapace symbol is freely used.

Other vessels belonging in this sub-class are illustrated in Plate XI and the carapace symbol occurs on every one. In figure *a*, there is a repetition of figure 17, except that the nose is wanting. The handle is reduced to a mere knob in figure *b*, but the eyes above and the carapace symbol placed ventrally at the base suffice to convey the idea intended. In figure *c*, the horizontal loop handle is reduced in size and somewhat removed from the neck of the vessel. Carapace symbols ornament its summit and bases. The same is true of figure *d*, except that three single fillets are used instead of three pairs. This is also true of figure *e*, the only difference being that the handles are changed so as to occupy a vertical position. In figure *f* the vertical handles unite shoulder and rim. They are simply plastered over with carapace symbols. Two perforated nodes near the top represent the eyes. On the opposite handle a

median hole just below the eyes may be intended for a mouth or nose.

Almost all the specimens here figured belong to the *terra-cotta* or *biscuit* group, which is the largest group of Chiriquian pottery, being nearly as large as all the others put together. Of the 3668 pieces in the Yale collection, 1620 belong to the *biscuit* ware. Of these about one-fifth are decorated with the armadillo motive in one or several of its many forms, the occurrence of other animal representations being rare in comparison.

The preponderating influence of the armadillo in the *terra-cotta* group suggests the totemic potency of the animal in question among the makers of this ware. Why not, then, call it the *armadillo* group instead? Such a terminology, together with the change from «black incised» to *serpent* group, as suggested by the writer on page 159, would tend toward uniformity. For similar reasons the «tripod» group of Holmes might well be called the *fish* group. All these changes would be in line with the choice of the name *alligator* for one of the important groups of painted ware. The names of life forms would then be given to four groups instead of to only one.

By incorporating the proposed changes into the classification of Holmes (1), the result is as follows :

Unpainted Ware :

- Armadillo group (instead of «terra-cotta» or «biscuit» group).
- Serpent group (instead of «black incised» group).

Painted Ware : –

- Handled group.
- Fish group (instead of «tripod» group).
- Scarified group.
- Maroon group.
- Red line group.
- White line group.
- Lost color group
- Alligator group.
- Polychrome group.

The armadillo still enters largely into the life of certain

(1) Loc. cit.

tribes. According to Dr A. Hrdlicka ([1]), it is a cherished article of food among the Indians of western Mexico and medicinal properties are ascribed to certain parts. The Cora, for instance, save the carapace and administer decoctions of it as a cure for stomach disorders.

The armadillo motive is not confined to the « terra cotta » or *armadillo* group, as is indicated by the foregoing illustrations from the unpainted and painted *handled* ware. It is also traceable in the *lost color*, *white line*, and *alligator* groups. In examples of the latter group, the entire vessel is treated as a zoomorphic unit, its body corresponding to the body of the armadillo, with projecting head, tail and legs, and the carapace rendered in a realistic manner (Pl. XII, figs. *f*—*i*).

The vessel in figure *f* comes very nearly being a complete zoomorphic unit. It is a tripod instead of a quadruped, with two legs in front but only one hind leg, which is in a median plane. The tail forms a vertically placed loop handle emerging from underneath the carapace to fuse with the hind leg. The legs are marked with parallel transverse lines in black, suggesting the carapace motive. In that case, each leg would represent an armadillo, a supposition borne out by the fact that feet and toes are not indicated. The head is well defined, the nose being pointed downward as if to reach the ground. The ears are represented in the round as well as by means of black paint ; the eyes, by paint alone — a black circle on cream slip surrounding a black spot. The carapace, like the ears, is represented both in the round and in color. Its anterior and posterior regions are marked by black spots on the cream slip. The banded character of the middle region is indicated by transverse parallel lines in alternating groups of black and red. The circular aperture cuts all three regions of the carapace, the margin or rim being painted red. The black spots on top of the head also represent dermal armor. The vessel is covered inside and out by a uniform slip, over which the delineating colors (black and red) are applied except on the interior and on the outer ventral surface. The vessel belongs to the so-called *alligator* group.

---

(1) Personal letter dated Oct. 4, 1906.

In figure *g*, the zoomorphic unit is to all intents and purposes complete. It is somewhat complicated, however, by the fact that here, also, each of the legs (four this time) may be regarded as a separate armadillo because of the presence of the carapace motive and the absence of feet or toes. We have, in other words, a realistic figure of the armadillo, each leg of which represents a conventionalized armadillo. The entire figure is a whistle, the stub tail serving as a mouth-piece. Above each fore leg, there is a perforation communicating with the hollow interior. By means of these, two additional notes may be produced. The horizontal perforation through the solid neck is for purposes of suspension. The prominent nostrils are represented by rather deep holes with oblong openings. The eyes are simply black spots of paint. The carapace is represented both in the round and by delineating colors in black and red on a cream slip. These are in three groups of transverse parallel lines, each group being crossed by longitudinal parallel lines. The central, rather narrow region of the carapace is in red ; the anterior and posterior regions are both in black. The band nearest the head and the two nearest the tail are represented by rows of black spots.

An interesting figurine is reproduced in figure *h* of the same Plate. Like the preceding figure, it belongs to the *alligator* group of ware. It is not a whistle, although the interior is hollow and reached by means of a small ventral perforation. The attitude suggests the act of burrowing, or possibly an attempt to roll up for defense, which has been frustrated by the interposition of a thick bar placed transversely across (or through) the stomach and projecting some distance beyond the carapace on either side. The head is depressed, the nose pointing slightly backward, the chin pressed against the chest. The tail, represented both in the round and by means of black paint, is brought forward underneath along the ventral surface. The extremities are sharply flexed, the toes of the fore feet pointing forward and those of the hind feet turning backward (fig. *i*). The three regions of the slightly raised carapace are quite distinct. The smooth surface of the anterior and posterior sections is given a uniform coat of black paint, while the central region is painted red and grooved so as to bring out in

relief three rather wide bands. The transverse bar passing through (or across) the stomach is also painted red. One of the projecting ends of this rod was evidently broken before the red paint was applied, as a coat of the same is carried over the uneven surface of the break; or the break may have occurred while the object was in use and afterward was painted over to match the surrounding color. It is, at all events, a case of prehistoric repairing. The part broken off may have been a head for which the opposite prominence could have served as a tail, since the diameter of the latter is not so great as that of the missing protuberance.

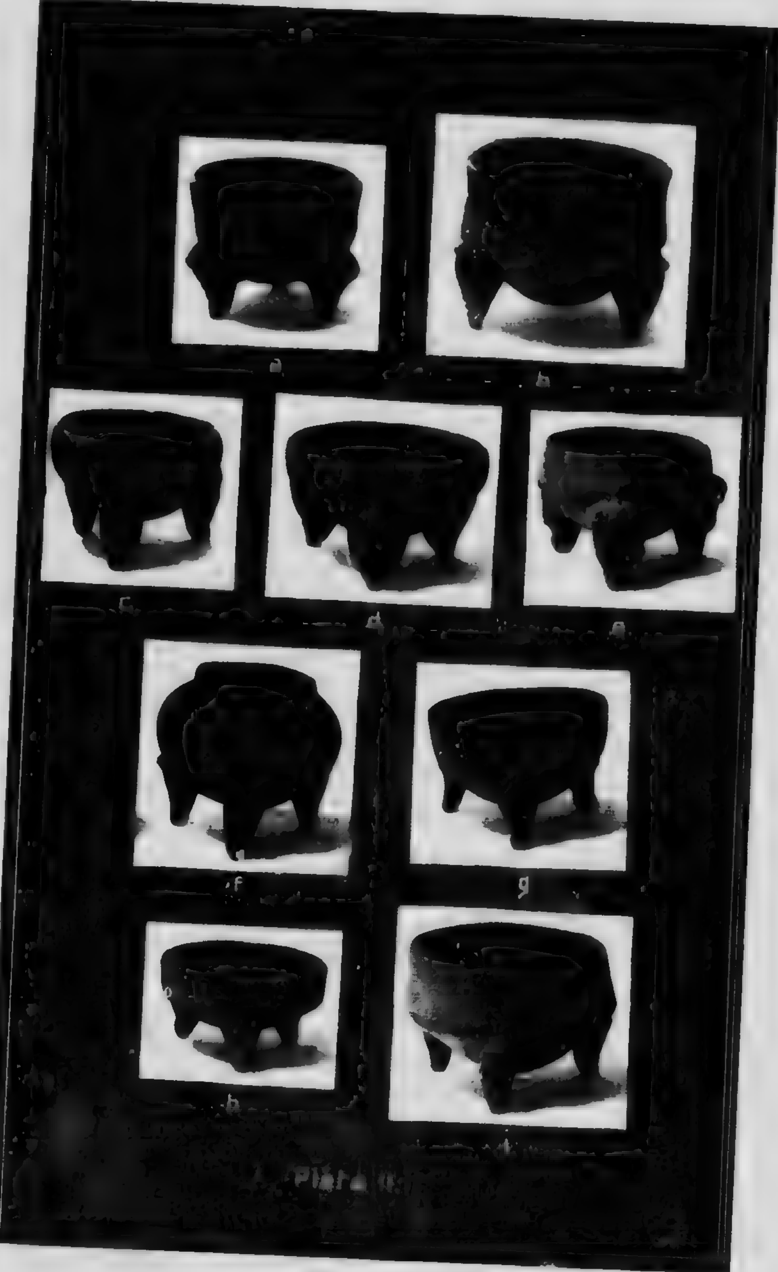
It is interesting to note that the disposition of color on the carapace of the armadillo whistle (fig. *g*) and of the armadillo figurine (fig. *h*) is the same. In each case, the central banded region is in red, while the rest is in black. In both cases, also, a red median band bounded by two parallel lateral black bands is carried between the ears and down toward the tip of the nose. The treatment of the eyes and nostrils is identical, also, in both.

A study of the various groups, then, reveals the fact that the armadillo, while a dominant decorative factor in the *terra-cotta* or *armadillo* ware, is also the thread that binds together practically all classes of Chiriquian pottery, serving an important ornamental rôle and full of symbolic and mythologic meaning. It demonstrates, also, that many purely decorative motives had their origin in some life form or in elements thereof. In Egypt it seems to have been the lotus; in Chiriqui it was pre-eminently the armadillo.



Tatu novemcinctum from Chiriqui. Original in American Museum of Natural History, New York.

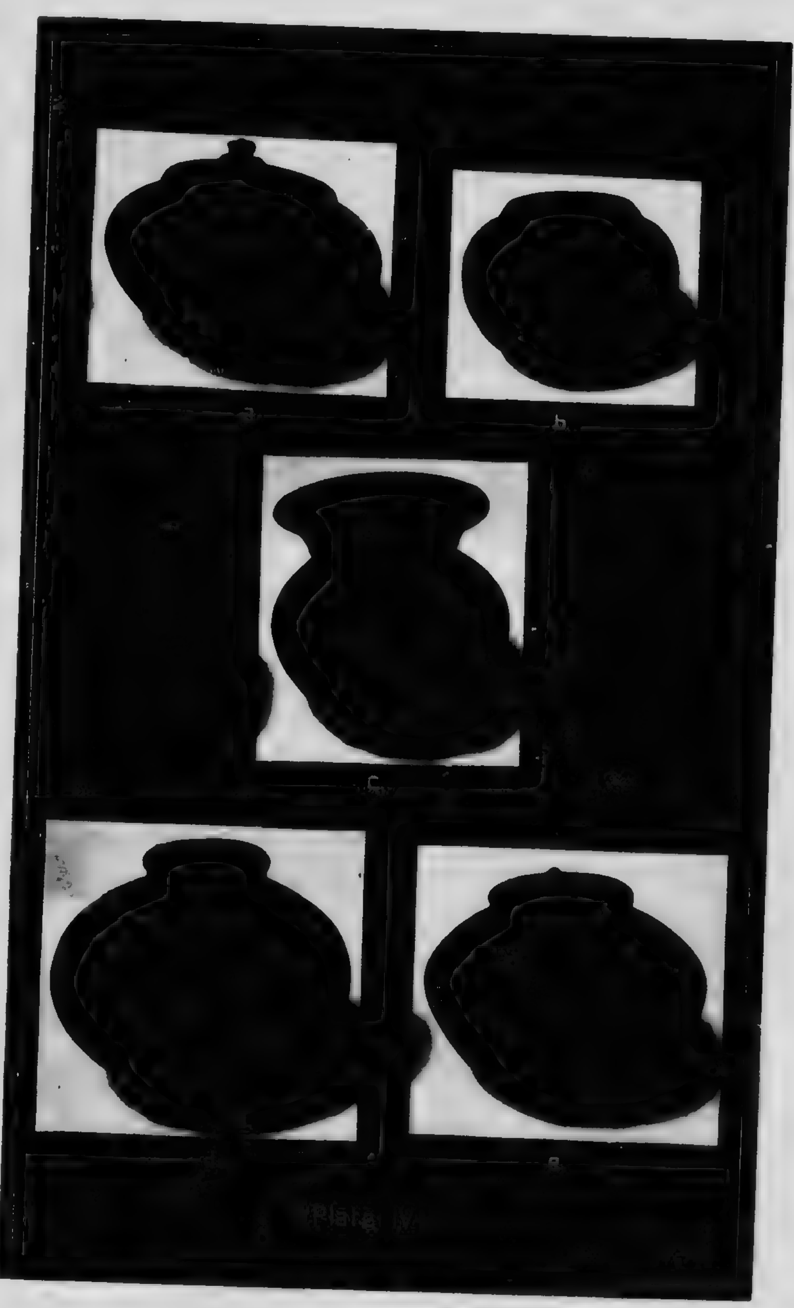
PLATE I



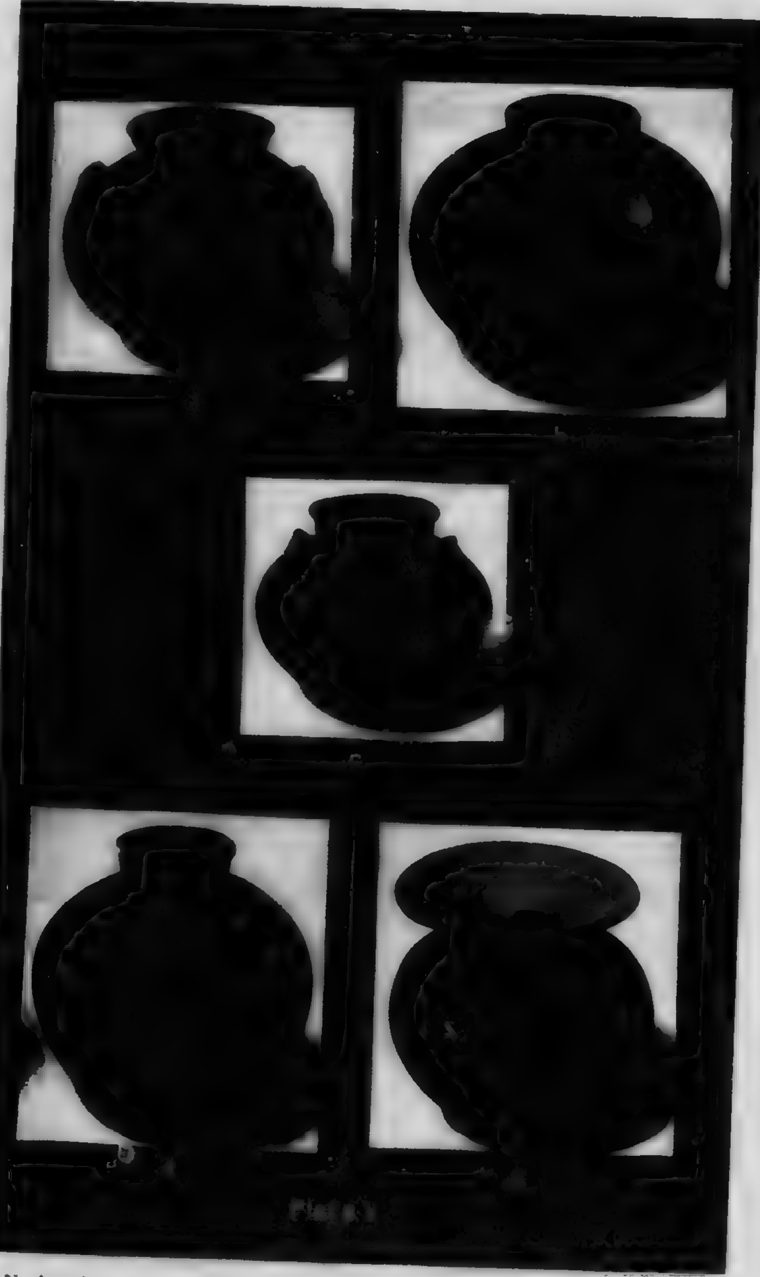
The use of the armadillo as tripod supports.



The armadillo head as a shoulder decoration.



The entire armadillo as a shoulder ornament.



Necks of vases ornamented with motives derived from the carapace and tail.



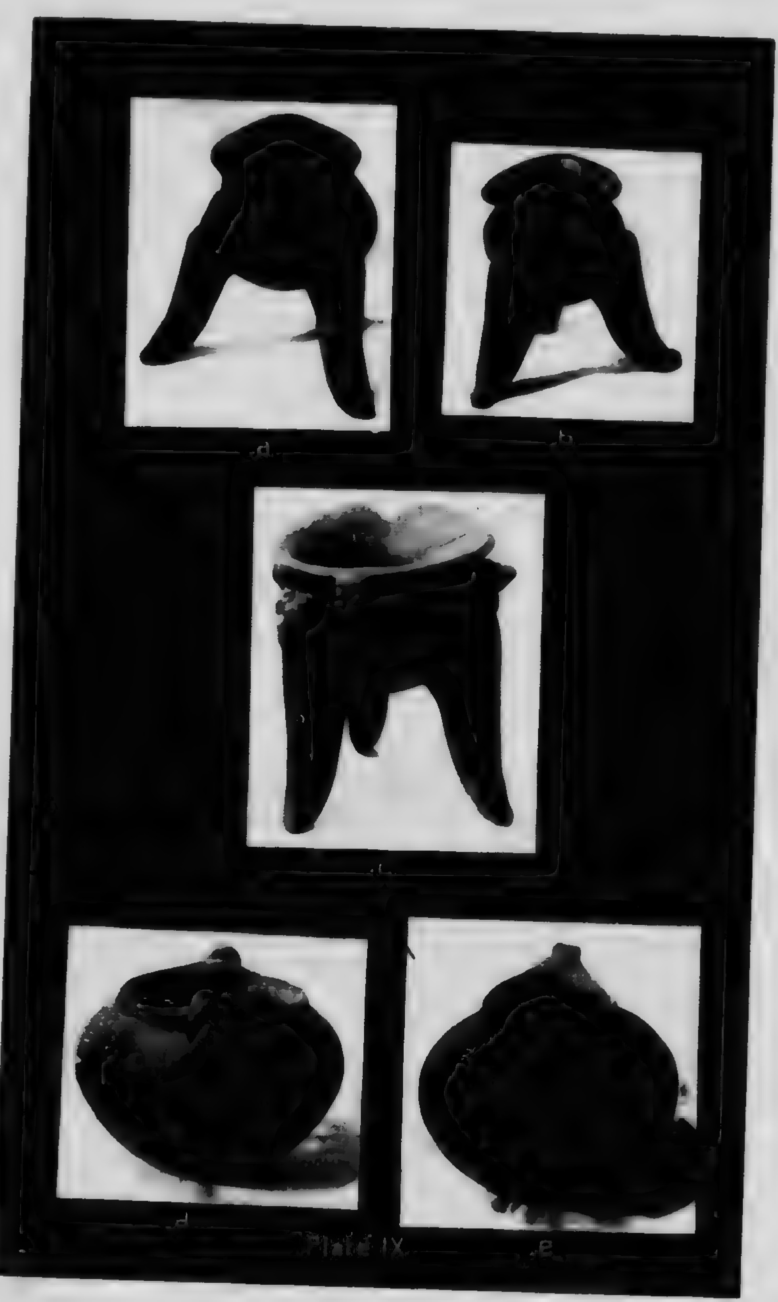
Tail symbols as a decorative motive for the necks of vases.



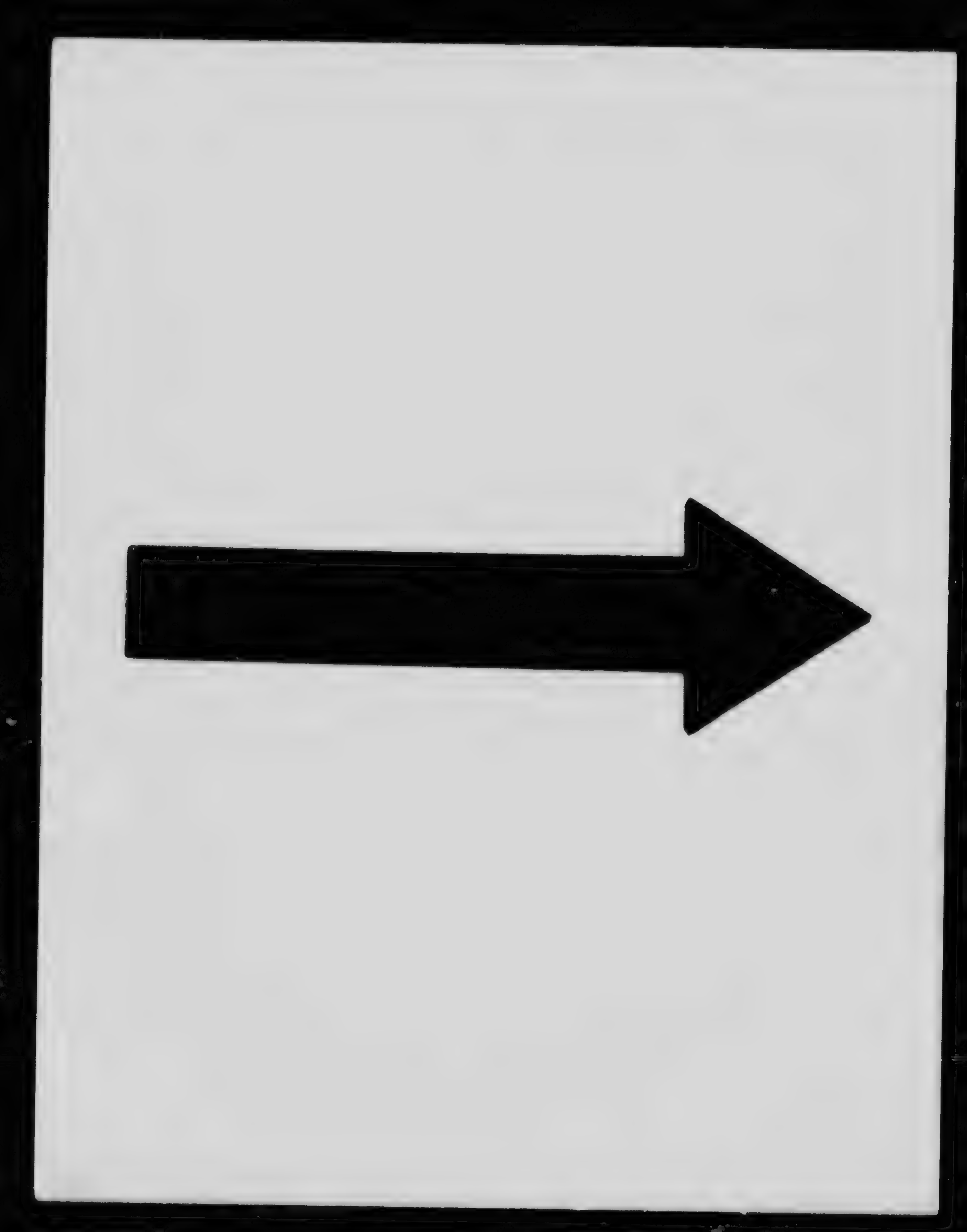
The use of foot, eye and carapace symbols as decorative motives.

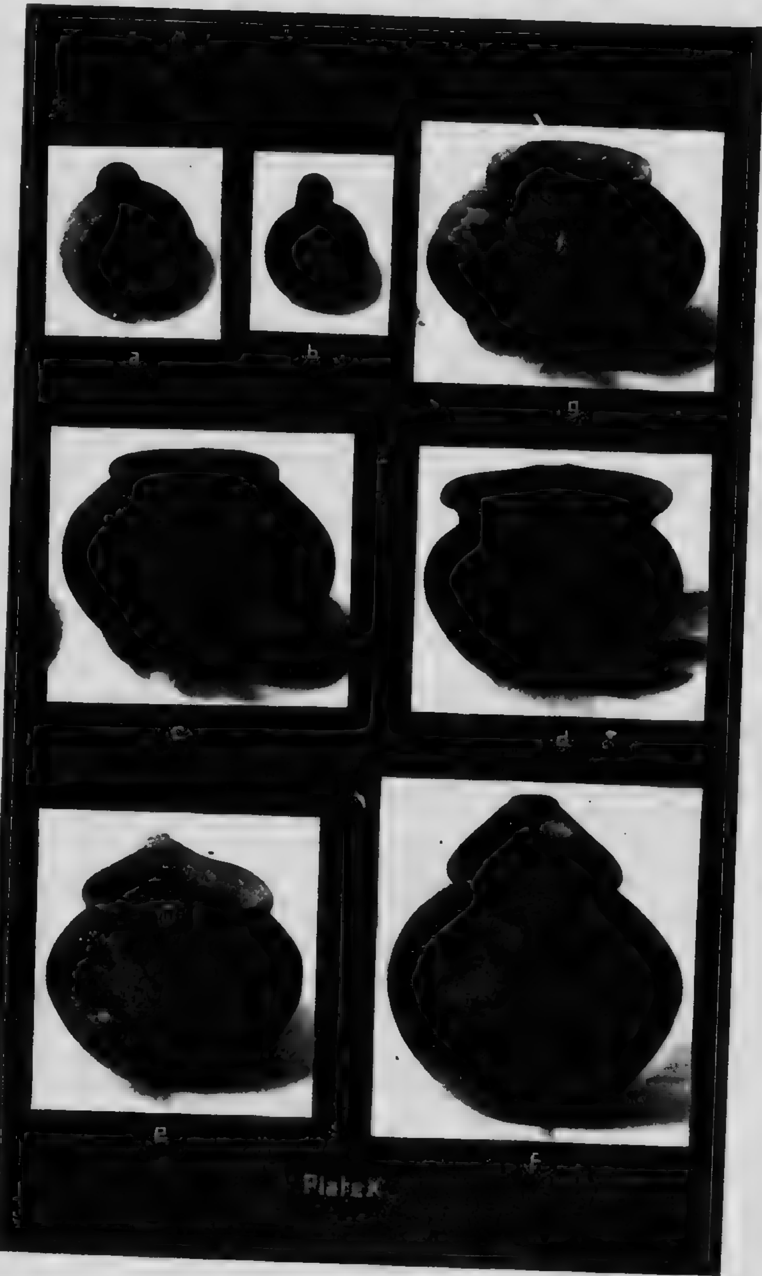


The carapace and other motives as handle decorations.



The relation of the twisted handle to life forms.

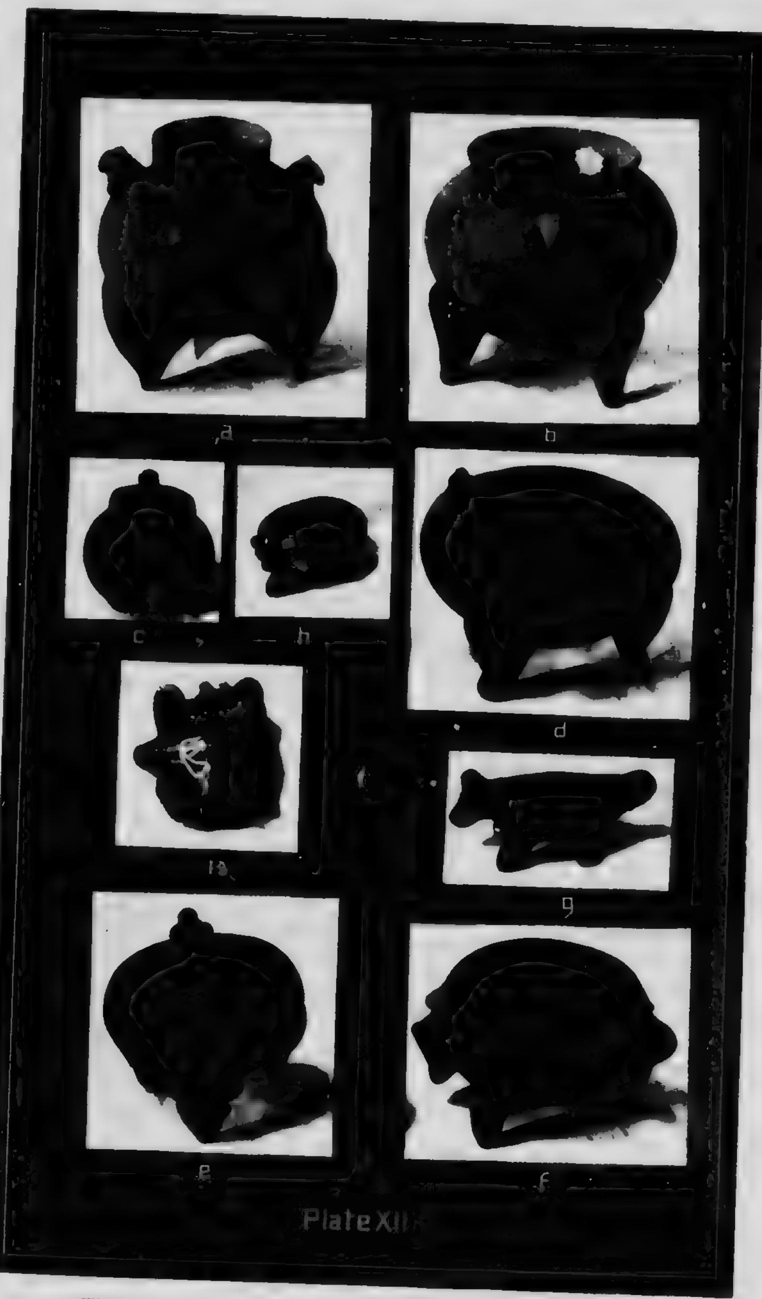




Various forms of the carapace motive.



Examples of the unpainted handled ware decorated with carapace symbols.



The armadillo as a decorative factor and as a zoomorphic unit.

THE WALL PAINTINGS

AT CHICHEN ITZA

PAR Melle A. BRETON

Students of Central American archeology have scarcely as yet appreciated the important part that painting formerly played in the decorative art of that region. The first explorers were overwhelmed by the grandeur and strangeness of the ruins, and were too fully occupied in making plans of the structures, and moulds of the reliefs and monoliths, to have time for more than hasty notes of the colors on them. This was unfortunate, for where the buildings were covered with debris, when first excavated, the colours were often fresh, and exposure to the weather has since destroyed them.

From the remains still visible, it is evident that all the sculptured parts were coloured and that the colours were more or less symbolic. Those people *saw* in colour and light and shade. That is why mere outline copies of the sculptures, and casts set up in a light for which they were not intended, give a very inadequate idea of the actual effect. The color is also a great help towards understanding the subjects.

At Chichen Itza there was a remarkable development of Art; not only were the columns, door posts and interior walls of some of the buildings covered with coloured reliefs representing personages and events, but many chambers were entirely painted in fresco with historical scenes.

These wall paintings are of the highest interest, not only from the point of view of archeology but from that of Art. In color, drawing and design they can hold their own any where, although to a modern eye they may appear quaint and childlike as do those of the Early Italian school. As they are, unfortunately, much destroyed, they cannot be seen fairly in a hurried

visit, but after studying them day by day, and when the light is good, one comes to feel a great admiration for artists who could as skilfully transfer the bright harmonious tints of their sunset skies to an intractable material like plaster.

Mr. Thomson, Dr L. Plongeon and Mr. Maudslay copied some portions of these paintings, but from various reasons their copies have not become known as they deserved, and it was at Mr. Maudslay's suggestion that I attempted the great task of copying the whole series.

The Casa de las Monjas retains only a small part of its paintings, in a small upper chamber and in the vault of the large chamber on the same terrace. This has houses with thatched roofs, temples, trees, and what appears to be a long wall or fortification, above which are warriors armed with shield and atlatl. There is a building with the long-nosed mask characteristic of Yucatan, the temples are surrounded by a battlemented wall. There must almost certainly have been a small wooden gallery along the lower edge of the vault, from which the paintings could be inspected, for the figures are as small that they can scarcely be seen from below. The small chamber has battle scenes on a green ground with trees.

In Temple A. (or Temple of the Tigers) the walls of the outer chamber were painted, but owing to the roof having fallen in, they were exposed to the weather and only a few round shields are now left, showing that the subjects were battles as in the inner chamber. This latter has suffered from the local tourist who has written names all over it, and also from copyists who have outlined the figures in pencil, or worse still, with a red line which at first sight appears original until one sees that it crosses gaps in the plaster. Still, with care and patience something can be saved from the wreck which becomes each year more deplorable, now that the removal of the trees and plants which protected the exterior allows the tropic rains to pour down the walls.

The paintings were not the first decoration of the building. Traces of a previous coat can be seen here and there, showing a kind of diaper pattern in red and blue. But they were done a sufficiently long time before the place was abandoned for a

crack in the plaster to have required mending and recolouring. There are also *graffiti* scratched in the plaster by ancient devotees.

METHOD.—There were certainly two artists employed, and their methods were different. One was a master who knew exactly what he meant to do, and did it in a calm methodical way, with certainty and swiftness of brush in the sweeping outlines. The other, more impetuous, dashed in figures just as they came into his head, after he had fixed the positions of the shields. These positions (at any rate on the south wall) are not hap. hazard, and it might be worth while for a mathematician or astronomer to study them. This artist understood how to place one tint over another to give a rich and glowing effect. He put in few outlines, and the greater part of his work is in dry colour which comes off easily, or peels away in patches. I attribute to him about half the work, the north and south walls, and the middle and north end of the east wall.

The other artist drew all his figures carefully in red outline on the damp plaster, and also, in true fresco fashion put on this chief masses of color while the plaster was damp. This helps to give the delightful varied effect of the tints, only enough colour being mixed for each day's work. Then the details were added in dry colours. Few of these are left, and the devices of the shields have been almost entirely obliterated by modern visitors, to insert their own names.

COLORS USED.—Two reds, two blues, four greens, yellow, white, black, and a purplish tint, and various tones of flesh colour, were used, and although there is no attempt at shading, they are so skilfully contrasted that there is a strong effect of relief. One figure will be light against the ground and another dark. It is only when copying them that one can appreciate the art with which each colour is added to enhance the brilliance and harmony of the whole, as one does in copying Turner's best water colours. It will be understood that these copies give but a poor idea of the glow of soft warm color when the sun shines in through the narrow door on an afternoon in April or May. Very many of the figures are now mere vague patches of colour, and I have not tried to re-draw them

or to do more than reproduce the present fragmentary appearance of the original.

DESCRIPTION. -The long walls of the east and west sides are each divided into three panels. On the west, there is one over the door and those on either side. We suppose that the series begins with the south-west panel, the first to the right on entering. Dr Le Plongeon has described this in his book, « Queen Moo ». The personages in feather mantles recall the statues which upheld the sculptured stone table in the outer chamber.

The south wall is particularly interesting as it shows the methods of attacking lofty places. There are three scaffold-towers on which are warriors, whilst others are climbing a great ladder made by notching a long tree-trunk. The personages floating in the air above the houses at the top of this panel will be observed. Part of the painting in the vault is left at this end, with the scene of a sacrifice, and some lean prisoners at one corner. Especially noteworthy are the high narrow white banner like Tibetan prayer-flags near the bottom of this wall.

The east wall has in its centre panel two life-size personages, one the same as the central figure on the sculptured wall of chamber E. (the lower Temple of the Tigers), the other perhaps the hero laid out at the bottom of this panel, and also in the panel above the Lintel and in the border of the North Building of the Ball-Court. The great feathered serpent appears to be in reversed position with his head downwards, judging from the feathers. In the southern panel of this wall, which is very much destroyed, there are several animals and birds amongst the trees on the sides of the fortified villages. The northern panel has a series of hills with attacking and defending forces. Here the artist evidently gave a variety of trees and rocks in the landscape, but scarcely anything remains.

On the north wall there is a sun-disk in the centre at the top, and a number of perhaps mythical personages who look as if they had come out of some illuminated manuscript with their curious red blackgrounds and flourishes. Here the green ground rises diagonally from the bottom to the top. The colours of the figures and the sky are peculiarly rich.

The north end of the west wall has an attack by blue-bodied warriors on a village defended by a fortification coloured red like that of the south east panel. This red object was at first called a canoe until Mr. Maudslay showed that all the houses were inside it, and then it was found that similar representations of defences were to be seen on the so-called slate « palettes » of ancient Egypt.

The border or dado round the lower part of the walls is somewhat similar to those of chamber E. and the North Building. It has personages whom one may perhaps call mythological, entwined with flowery « speeches. » The small personage in both borders of the west wall is the same who occurs as a sort of Punchinello in many reliefs as at Palenque and Quirigue.

DIFFERENT RACE-TYPES

There is a great variety of types. Some of the warriors are very tall and athletic, especially those descending on the South wall, with red feather headdresses. Others are short and plump as in the south west panel. Some profiles have been preserved, though as a rule the shield is so held as almost to cover the face, and where it is visible, the eye has usually been destroyed. There are two good profiles on the Red Hills and some in the south-east panel, and the two lama-like persons on a roof in the corner of the south west panel. The flesh-tints vary from the pale yellow of the sun-disk personages and the women, to the dark brown of the defenders of the Red Hills, and of the chiefs sitting before their hut-doors in the bottom row of the south wall.

The speeches have yet to be interpreted, though one may suppose that the warriors cry « Victory or Death » when their speeches are a flourish of red and blue. A man at the top of the south west panel whose atlatl is held downwards as a sign of defeat, has a dejected-looking speech, somewhat like that of a man with bound arms in a Mont Alban relief (Plate XVIII, Batres).

The chamber is 8 metres long, 3.50 to the edge of the vault, and about as much again to the top.

ORIGINE DE LA CIVILISATION

DE

L'AMÉRIQUE PRÉCOLOMBIENNE

PAR M. ALPHONSE GAGNON (1)
Fonctionnaire civil au Département des Travaux publics, Québec.

Le travail que j'ai l'honneur de soumettre au congrès est le résultat de plusieurs années d'études comparatives entre les antiquités américaines et celles de certaines contrées du monde oriental, études basées sur les données fournies par les dernières découvertes archéologiques. Ces découvertes, accomplies tant en Orient qu'en Amérique, sont tellement nombreuses et extraordinaires que, c'est bien le cas de le dire, beaucoup de faits que nous ne soupçonnions pas il y a quelques années à peine, s'imposent aujourd'hui.

C'est d'abord une telle analogie d'architecture, d'ornementation, — indiquant des usages communs — entre les monuments de l'Egypte, de l'Arabie méridionale, de la Chaldée, de l'Inde, de l'Indo-Chine, et ceux de l'ancienne Amérique civilisée que, souvent, les expressions qui servent à décrire les uns nous font connaître les autres. Les édifices des temps les plus reculés de l'Inde et de l'Egypte, forment deux genres d'architecture si analogues, que l'on a d'abord cru que l'un était l'imitation de l'autre, ressemblance que l'on explique par des traditions communes chez les deux peuples. Mais on dit aussi que les temples

---

(1) J'avais d'abord l'intention de déposer sur le Bureau du Congrès un Mémoire beaucoup plus détaillé que le présent résumé, qui n'est qu'un simple énoncé de faits. Mais comme je me propose de publier sous peu un ouvrage sur le même sujet, je me réserve de réunir dans ce volume les preuves qui manquent ici et que je donnerai à l'appui de la thèse à laquelle je me suis rallié touchant l'origine de la civilisation de l'Amérique précolombienne.

de l'Amérique centrale reproduisent le modèle de ceux de l'Inde. Un missionnaire anglais confond, à première vue, les dagobas de Chichen-Itza avec ceux de Ceylan, tellement ils se ressemblent ; or les dagobas de Ceylan ne diffèrent point de ceux de l'Inde, du moins quant à la forme typique de leur architecture. Puis, la manière de bâtir des Egyptiens se rapproche à certains égards de celle des Chaldéens, et le grand temple de Mexico et la pyramide de Teotihuacan, écrit M. Désiré Charnay, ont été construits d'après les mêmes principes et sur les mêmes modèles que les monuments chaldéens. D'ailleurs, ajoute-t-il, si l'on compare les civilisations de l'Amérique du Nord et de l'Amérique centrale avec les civilisations de l'Asie, c'est avec la Chaldée et l'Assyrie que se multiplient les rapprochements les plus éclatants.

De son côté, l'auteur de l'*Histoire des Religions*, ouvrage publié en 1904, écrit : « Si l'on cherche pour l'architecture, l'organisation sociale, les religions du Mexique et du Pérou, des ressemblances avec celles de l'ancien monde, c'est surtout dans les civilisations assyrienne et égyptienne qu'on trouve plus de termes de comparaisons. » Or la civilisation assyrienne procède de la civilisation chaldéenne et n'en est que la copie. Les monuments de l'Indo-Chine et de Java font aussi songer à ceux de l'Inde et de l'Amérique centrale. Boeroe-Boedor rappelle la grande pyramide d'Egypte par sa forme et sa grandeur, mais il correspond également au grand temple de Palenque d'une manière si exacte, qu'il est impossible, a-t-on dit, de contester sérieusement la communauté d'origine et de destination des deux monuments. On signale nombre de traits communs que présente l'ancienne architecture du Cambodge avec celle du Yucatan. L'architecture du sud de l'Arabie, écrit Caussin de Perceval, devait procéder de celle de Babylone, comme la civilisation et la religion du pays étaient étroitement apparentées avec celles de la Chaldée. On trouve dans quelques-unes des îles de la Polynésie, et notamment aux îles Sandwich, des constructions à base pyramidale qui rappellent la pyramide mexicaine de Cholula. Enfin, les monuments typiques de l'ancien empire égyptien, suivant l'auteur de l'*Art Monumental*, sont des pyramides. Il en était de même en Chaldée, nous répètent les orientalistes. Aux Indes, d'après Heeren, on voit,

par leurs vestiges, que les temples les plus antiques étaient des pyramides. Les pyramides sont certainement le fait le plus saillant de l'ancienne architecture américaine, dit le marquis de Nadaillac.

Sans doute, une pyramide ressemble à une autre pyramide, et, envisagée à ce point de vue, il n'y a pas là de quoi prouver l'unité ethnique des constructeurs de deux pyramides semblables ; mais quand, dans un temps donné de l'histoire, on voit une partie de l'humanité, et d'une humanité à ses débuts dans l'art de la construction, faire usage d'un mode architectonique similaire, sinon dans ses détails, du moins dans ses traits principaux, on a raison de croire que les peuples qui élèvent de pareils monuments dans les contrées qu'ils habitent, tiennent leur motif d'inspiration d'une origine commune.

Je n'ignore pas que l'esprit humain est partout identique à lui-même, que les mêmes besoins ont fait naître chez l'homme les mêmes efforts de l'intelligence, les mêmes créations de l'industrie. Il exécute les mêmes choses sous l'empire des mêmes circonstances. Mais cette loi ne peut s'étendre qu'aux exigences de sa vie matérielle et non aux produits du génie de l'homme, aux conceptions de son intelligence cultivée, et qui sont chez lui les effets d'une civilisation déterminée. Tels, par exemple, les arts de la construction qui fournissent des indications de la plus haute valeur sur les affinités ethnologiques. « Les temples, les palais et les tombeaux, dit le révérend Isaac Taylor dans ses *Etruscan Researches*, peuvent être regardés comme autant de pétrifications, des aspirations, des pensées et des sentiments des peuples ; ils sont l'expression spontanée et inconsciente de particularités mentales héréditaires. » Ainsi, les hommes qui, en Egypte, en Arabie méridionale, en Chaldée, dans l'Inde, en Polynésie, aussi bien qu'au Mexique, en Amérique centrale et au Pérou, élèvent des constructions analogues de forme et qui présupposent les mêmes usages, qui transportent, entassent et ajustent des blocs énormes de roches aussi dures que le granit, construisent des pyramides pour y ensevelir leurs morts ou y ériger au sommet les temples de leurs dieux ; qui, en Amérique comme en Orient, disposent leurs édifices d'après un même plan horizontal, les groupent, les divisent et les ornent d'une manière presque identique, et qui sur ces temples et ces palais

représentent des symboles, religieux ou autres, qui leur sont communs ; ces hommes qui, dans les deux hémisphères, dressent des obélisques, percent les montagnes de souterrains, taillent des statues aux proportions colossales, avant d'être dispersés en groupes spéciaux, ne devaient former à l'origne qu'une race unique. Une ancienne et commune foi, le sang, les instincts héréditaires ont survécu chez les diverses branches ainsi dispersées de cette même race et produit à d'aussi grandes distances des effets similaires. « Il est difficile d'admettre, dit M. Viollet-le-Duc, que TOUS les hommes, à l'origine de leur civilisation, aient employé les mêmes méthodes, lorsqu'ils ont pu produire des œuvres sorties de leur cerveau ; l'étude attentive des monuments qui nous sont connus, en Asie, en Amérique et en Europe, démentirait ce système de production uniforme ; cette étude conduit à admettre que certaines méthodes appartiennent à certaines races. »

Mais il y a plus, ces grands bâtisseurs étaient aussi des maîtres en agriculture, et la science avec laquelle ils ont su pratiquer l'assainissement, le drainage et l'irrigation du sol ne se voit pas ailleurs, à cette époque reculée, que dans ces mêmes pays où subsistent les ruines de leurs monuments. Les explorations accomplies depuis un quart de siècle nous font voir que, dans les contrées orientales déjà nommées aussi bien qu'en Polynésie et en Amérique, on pratiquait un savant système d'irrigation au moyen de canaux et de vastes réservoirs étagés pour l'arrosement. Dans l'Inde, par exemple, les Anglais n'ont eu qu'à réparer les anciennes levées et à compléter le réseau de canalisation pour rendre à leur fertilité d'autrefois plusieurs millions d'hectares de terrains devenus incultes. Les monuments de l'antiquité sacrée et profane et les résultats des recherches scientifiques contemporaines nous montrent donc dès une époque antérieure de plusieurs milliers d'années à l'ère chrétienne, une race qui, possédant tous les éléments d'une civilisation avancée, colonise diverses parties de l'ancien continent. Grâce surtout aux études ethnographiques et archéologiques actuelles, par les œuvres que cette race est alors la seule à produire, on peut la suivre comme à la trace partout où elle s'établit.

Mais quelle était cette race ?

On admet aujourd'hui que les peuples de souche dite kouschite ou éthiopienne, désignés aussi quelquefois sous l'appellation de Chamites, mais qu'il ne faut pas confondre avec la race nègre, comme l'ont fait la plupart des écrivains de l'antiquité, ont été les premiers civilisateurs et bâtisseurs dans toute l'Asie sud-occidentale, et ce qui subsiste de leur langue, de leurs monuments et de leur influence civilisatrice, nous révèle la présence de ces mêmes peuples sur le rivage asiatique et africain de la Méditerranée, dans la vallée du Nil, dans l'Indoustan et dans les îles de l'Océan Indien.

Tous les savants, dit Fr. Lenormant, sont aujourd'hui d'accord pour reconnaître que les bords du Tigre, la Perse méridionale et une partie de l'Inde elle-même, ont été peuplés par la famille de Kousche avant d'être occupés par les descendants de Sem et de Japhet. Les empires fondés par les Chamites se trouvèrent bientôt en contact avec les deux autres races, qui entrèrent en lutte avec eux et s'emparèrent des pays qu'ils occupaient. Les Sémites les remplacèrent dans la Chaldée, dans l'Assyrie, dans la Palestine et dans l'Arabie, les Aryas dans l'Inde et dans la Perse.

M. Rawlinson, autre orientaliste de grande autorité, déclare que les résultats maintenant acquis à la science, prouvent que les Chamites ou Kouschites ont précédé les Sémites et les Aryas dans toutes les parties de l'Asie occidentale, et, entre autres régions, il mentionne l'Arabie, la Babylonie, la Susiane, la Phénicie et le sud-est de l'Asie Mineure, le pays des Héthéens, appelés Khétas dans les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques de l'Egypte. Enfin, la Bible et tous les écrivains de l'antiquité étendent la famille de ce sang tout le long des côtes, depuis la bouche de l'Indus jusqu'à l'Egypte, et audelà sur la côte nord de l'Afrique.

Tous ces peuples avaient une organisation sociale qui semble leur avoir été particulière : celle de la division de la société en castes. Ce régime, dit encore Lenormant, est essentiellement kouschite, et partout où nous le retrouvons, il est facile de constater qu'il procède originairement de cette race. Nous l'avons vu, ajoute-t-il, florissant à Babylone. Les Aryas de l'Inde, qui l'adoptèrent, l'avaient emprunté aux populations du sang

de Kousche qui les avaient précédés dans le bassin de l'Indus et du Gange et qu'ils soumirent à leur autorité.

Nous retrouvons cette même division de la société en castes chez les Incas du Pérou, chez les Mexicains et autres peuples civilisés de l'Amérique précolombienne, de même que chez certaines peuplades polynésiennes. Si le régime des castes, d'après les orientalistes, était étranger aux Sémites et aux Aryas, les constructions cyclopéennes à base pyramidale, le mode de culture par irrigation l'étaient pareillement, aux temps où nous reporte l'existence de ces travaux.

Ces mêmes peuples enfin pratiquaient un culte caractéristique et dont le fond leur était également commun : le sabéisme. Mais le temps me manque pour en dire davantage sur cette partie de mon travail qui occupe une place importante dans mon livre actuellement en préparation.

Il semble donc évident qu'à une époque qui se perd dans le demi-jour de la mythologie, une portion considérable de la famille humaine sortit de l'Inde ou de la Chaldée, peu importe ici le point de départ. Elle se divisa en deux grandes colonnes, dont l'une, prenant la route de l'Occident, s'étendit depuis la grande presqu'île jusqu'aux extrémités de la côte nord-est de l'Afrique, et l'autre, prenant une direction opposée, se fractionna dans sa marche vers l'Ouest en plusieurs colonies: Ceylan d'abord, puis l'Indo-Chine, Java, les îles de la Polynésie en nombre plus ou moins considérable, et finit par atteindre l'Amérique, bien des siècles avant l'ère chrétienne, laissant partout, par ses monuments, par ses travaux de culture, par la répartition de la société en castes, par ses idées religieuses et ses mœurs, des traces indéniables de son passage. Des hommes de cette race seraient ainsi les auteurs de la vieille civilisation américaine qui, bien qu'affaiblie, subsistait encore au Pérou, dans l'Amérique centrale, le Yucatan et le Mexique, au début du XVI[e] siècle, à l'arrivée des Espagnols. Cette marche du peuple constructeur me paraît naturelle, je dirai même démontrée par le type caractéristique de ses monuments, de ses travaux hydrauliques, trop ressemblants et trop nombreux pour être l'effet du hasard ou de rencontres fortuites. Elle est aussi en conformité des traditions des Indiens civilisés de l'Amérique qui font venir leurs ancêtres de l'Orient par mer, à une époque inconnue. Sans ces commu-

nications entre les deux continents, ces traditions n'auraient pas leur raison d'être.

Si l'on hésite à donner à ces premiers immigrants le nom de Kouschites, qu'on leur applique l'appellation que l'on croira devoir leur convenir. Je ne tiens pas au nom précisément ; mais ce qui me paraît bien démontré, c'est que, à l'époque où cette race était à l'apogée de sa gloire, c'est-à-dire longtemps avant Homère, puisqu'à cette date il y avait déjà plusieurs siècles que cette civilisation allait s'éteignant, c'était une de ses ambitions d'élever sur d'énormes talus des édifices aux dimensions extraordinaires, de creuser de longues galeries souterraines dans le roc vif, de construire de vastes réservoirs, d'ériger, tant en Orient qu'en Polynésie et en Amérique, des constructions qui sont encore pour nous un sujet d'étonnement, incapables que nous sommes de comprendre par quels moyens des pierres de 30, de 40 et même de 60 pieds de longueur sur 12 à 20 pieds de largeur et d'épaisseur, pouvaient être transportées et placées aux prodigieux degrés d'élévation où nous les voyons dans les ruines qui en restent. Et tous ces monuments présentent entre eux de tels rapports de conformité, qu'il est difficile de les expliquer sans admettre chez les ouvriers des uns et des autres des liens de parenté, de relations ou de traditions.

Il importe de ne pas perdre de vue ici l'ordre chronologique.

« The question as to the dates is important in this connection, disait M. Staniland Wake dans l'*American Antiquarian & Oriental Journal*, année 1903. It has been ascertained by recent discoveries in the Tigris, that there were many palaces and temples, walled cities, and labyrinths, which were erected long before the days of Homer. These discoveries carry us back thousands of years, before we really find the beginnings, either of history or of art, or of architecture. What is more, they prove to us migrations which extended through long distances, and reached not only the waters of the Mediterranean but the coast of India, and possibly extended to the west coast of North America. This is the lesson which we learn from comparing the architecture of the Old World with that of the New World. There were probably a transmission of types and patterns,

symbols and ornaments, which formed the basis of the architectural ornaments of the New World. »

C'est cela. On sent que ces lignes expriment la vérité. Seulement, je vais un peu plus loin que M. Wake en précisant ce que je crois avoir été le point de départ et la filiation ethnique de ces premiers immigrants.

LA QUESTION CALCHAQUIE

PAR MM. LÉON LEJEAL ET ERIC BOMAN

(RÉSUMÉ)

Les explorations effectuées depuis une vingtaine d'années sur le territoire de la République Argentine par les archéologues locaux et les écrits qui ont révélé ces explorations au monde savant, ont donné droit de cité dans les études américaines à une civilisation supposée spéciale que ses inventeurs désignent sous le nom de « civilisation calchaquie ». L'autonomie de cette civilisation paraît aujourd'hui acceptée en Europe et en Amérique, par nombre d'américanistes, d'une manière, cependant, toute provisoire et sans doute, en attendant l'examen scientifique du sujet qui, en réalité, n'a pas encore été entrepris. C'est cet examen que nous avons abordé, soit par des recherches historiographiques, soit par des recherches *in the field* (ces dernières, œuvre propre de M. Boman). Nous sommes arrivés à cette conviction commune que loin d'être indépendante et distincte, l'archéologie dite « calchaquie » doit être considérée comme une province annexe et vassale de l'archéologie ando-péruvienne.

Le présent mémoire a pour but de justifier cette conclusion. Il offre donc, d'abord, une synthèse, ensuite une critique des divers travaux publiés jusqu'ici sur la « Question calchaquie ». Les principaux points développés dans notre communication se réfèrent :

1°) à la géographie historique et ethnique ;

2°) à l'étude des monuments et du matériel ethnographique de la région « calchaquie » ;

3°) à l'histoire et à la géographie linguistique des régions ando-péruviennes.

I

Les principales sources utilisées sur ce point sont : a) *Relaciones* de Pedro Sotelo Narvaez, Jeronimo Luis de Cabrera, Diego Pacheco ; b) *Cartas* du P. Alonso Barzana et de Juan de Matienzo. Ces divers documents sont tous voisins (environs de 1580) de l'époque de la conquête et tous inspirés par la connaissance personnelle du pays. c) « *Historiadores* ». Le plus important est le P. Pedro Lozano. On le connaît comme un écrivain érudit, soigneux, voire méticuleux. Il a le mérite d'avoir habité Cordoba, d'avoir parcouru la région et, enfin, d'avoir consulté les archives de Tucuman et de Santiago. Son défaut est d'avoir écrit deux siècles environ après la « Conquista » (milieu du XVIIIe siècle). On ne peut, d'autre part, affirmer qu'il ait, autant qu'il l'aurait fallu, fait cas des traditions indigènes. Avec son confrère, Techo, il reste, malgré tout, un informateur des plus notables.

Ces différents textes et tous ceux qu'on peut également consulter donnent le nom de « Calchaquis » à une tribu d'Indiens fixée exactement dans la vallée (« vallée Calchaquie » d'aujourd'hui) limitrophe de la province de Salta et de la partie méridionale de la Puna de Atacama (l'actuel « territoire des Andes »). Ces « Calchaquis » ne constituaient pas, d'ailleurs, une nation distincte, mais appartenaient eux-mêmes au peuple plus important des *Diaguites*, dont le domaine s'étendait sur toute la région andine de l'Argentine actuelle, depuis le pic de l'Acay et la vallée de Lerma, au N., jusqu'à la province de San Juan, au S. (Sierra de Cordoba exceptée). En d'autres termes, les Diaguites occupaient les actuelles provinces argentines de Salta (partie sud-est), Catamarca (entière), Tucuman (zone montagneuse), La Rioja (entière) et San Juan (Vallées andines de cette dernière).

Linguistiquement, notons le tout de suite, toutes les tribus diaguites, habitants de la région demi-désertique plus haut définie, avaient pour langue générale le « Cacan », dont il ne nous est resté que quelques noms de lieux. L'usage du Quichua ne semble pas leur avoir été étranger. Tout au moins, les caciques devaient-ils pratiquer cette langue. Autour de ces Diaguites, parmi lesquels les « Calchaquis » n'apparaissent que comme un tout petit groupe, vivaient les peuples suivants : Araucans,

Huarpes, Comechingones, Sanavironas, Indamas, Juries, ces derniers peut-être identiques aux Tonocotés.

En outre, la province de Tucuman et le N. E. de Salta étaient infestés d'Indiens nomades (Lules). Au N. des Diaguites, sur les hauts plateaux, vivaient d'autres Indiens que les dernières découvertes (Mission Créqui-Montfort) ont identifiés aux anciens Atacamas du désert d'Atacama.

Par cette localisation, on voit sur le champ quel abus est fait archéologiquement du terme « Calchaqui ». On le sait : ce nom d'une tribu des Diaguites a fini par s'appliquer (notamment sous la plume de M. Juan-B. Ambrosetti), non seulement au territoire entier de cette nation, mais encore à bien d'autres contrées, par exemple, Puna de Jujuy et N. du Chili

En somme, les données de la géographie historique et ethnique semblent imposer cette première conclusion qu'en tout état de cause et quoi qu'il en soit de ses origines, de ses caractères propres ou de ses affinités, *la civilisation dite « Calchaquie » ne peut être, au vrai, qu'une civilisation diaguite.*

II

Ce second chapitre du mémoire s'ouvre par un rapide résumé des principales explorations et découvertes réalisées en pays diaguite, dit « calchaqui », sur l'initiative très méritoire du Dr Francisco P. Moreno. On trouvera donc ici la synthèse sommaire des travaux de Lafone-Quevedo, Ten Kate, Juan-B. Ambrosetti, Adan Quiroga, R. Lehmann-Nitsche, Carlos Bruch, etc.

Ruines. — La région des Diaguites ne présente pas de grandes constructions monumentales comme celles du Pérou. On n'y trouve que des ruines de villages et de fortifications (*pircas*, *murs bas*, construits en pierre sèche). Ces ruines et la disposition des villages fortifiés correspondent parfaitement aux restes de l'architecture la plus vulgaire et la plus répandue dans l'ancien Pérou-Bolivie.

Céramique. — Identité *absolue*, quant aux formes et à la technique des poteries de l'ancien territoire des Diaguites et de

celles du Pérou ancien. Les décors sont aussi très semblables. Certains types de vases et certaines figures modelées, tout à fait propres à la céramique péruvienne (à tel point qu'on n'en connait pas d'exemple hors des limites de l'empire des Incas) figurent également dans l'archéologie diaguite.

Pierre sculptée. — La région a aussi fourni de vrais chefs-d'œuvre de la sculpture sur pierre, et de style tout à fait péruvien.

Métallurgie. — Rareté relative des objets d'or et d'argent chez les anciens Diaguites. Les objets de cuivre sont étroitement apparentés à l'archéologie du Pérou, soit pour la forme, soit pour la fabrication. Ces pièces, comme les pièces péruviennes, révèlent toujours, quant à la matière, un alliage de cuivre et d'étain, ce dernier métal en proportions peu élevées et très variables. Jusqu'à ces derniers temps, deux catégories d'objets (*manoplas* et cloches) semblaient spéciales aux pays des Diaguites. Mais on en a rencontré récemment en Bolivie. Notons cependant, que jusqu'ici, l'ornementation des disques fondus dits « calchaquis » n'a pas de réplique sur d'autre point du territoire ando-péruvien.

Sépultures. — Elles offrent des dispositions très variées, comme, du reste, celles du Pérou, mais la disposition accroupie des corps est la même, de part et d'autre. L'un des traits spéciaux de l'ethnographie funéraire en pays diaguit. (et plus précisément, dans la Vallée calchaquie et dans celle de Yocavil), ce sont les *cimetières d'enfants* (enfants en bas âge, enterrés dans des urnes de forme caractér.stique, dont le décor peint, très riche, offre des figures symboliques : autruches, serpents, crapauds, etc.). Ces cimetières qui ne renferment pas d'adultes, ne se rencontrent nulle part ailleurs. Les archéologues argentins supposent que les enfants dont il s'agit étaient des victimes sacrificielles. En tous cas, que les enfants aient été sacrifiés ou simplement que la coutume des Diaguites fût d'enterrer les enfants morts très jeunes d'une manière spéciale, le fait ne compromet pas la thèse des influences exercées sur la civilisation des Diaguites par le Pérou. Car on pourrait citer maint autre peuple « péruanisé » ayant conservé de ses mœurs primitives telle ou

telle habitude, religieuse ou autre. Au point de vue purement somatologique, les tombes diaguites dénoncent, d'une façon générale, les mêmes déformations crâniennes que les sépultures de l'ancien Pérou. Enfin, elles ont livré dans la région des Diaguites des coquillages du Pacifique qui n'ont pu être importés que du Pérou.

Pétroglyphes. Les pétroglyphes, très nombreux de la région des Diaguites, accusent des types très hétérogènes, comme au Pérou même du reste. Quelques-uns se signalent par de réelles analogies avec ceux du Pérou, pour autant que ceux-ci nous sont connus, et *ils diffèrent des pétroglyphes du Brésil et de la Patagonie.*

En résumé, d'une façon générale, l'examen des monuments décrits et des pièces exhumées par les auteurs argentins, prouve:

a) *l'unité de toute l'archéologie diaguite* (on pressent, évidemment, des civilisations antérieures. Ainsi, sans parler de quelques travaux plus anciens de M. Lafone-Quevedo, Eric Boman [1] a constaté et montré dans le N. du territoire des traces d'ethnographie garanie) ;

b) *l'identité à peu près constante des ruines et du matériel retrouvés chez les Diaguites avec les antiquités péruviennes.* Au surplus l'historiographie espagnole nous présente les Diaguites *comme un peuple d'une culture relativement élevée et très analogue à celle des Péruviens préhispaniques.*

III

Histoire. — Mais l'influence péruvienne est-elle *historiquement* admissible ? En d'autres termes, les textes portent-ils trace d'une domination du Pérou antique sur la région diaguite ? L'affirmative n'est point douteuse, à ne consulter que Garcilasso et Montesinos. L'un et l'autre relatent les conquêtes des Incas dans la « province de Tucuman », expression qui désigne tout le pays des Diaguites, moins San Juan compris dans la province

(1) V. « Migrations précolombiennes dans le N. O. de l'Argentine », in *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris* (Nouv. Sér. t. II, p. 91).

de Cuyo (Mendoza, San Juan et San Luis d'aujourd'hui). Montesinos donne même à soupçonner plusieurs périodes séparées et distinctes de cette conquête et de cette domination. D'autre part, le témoignage, fort intéressant également de Pachacuti, est formel, quant à une conquête du Tucuman par l'Inca Tupac Yupanqi. Avec ces trois historiens les écrivains postérieurs sont tout à fait d'accord, répétant, parfois mot à mot, leurs devanciers.

Un seul apporte une note discordante et soutient que la région des Diaguites a toujours échappé à la puissance des Incas : c'est Lozano. Nous faisons, on l'a vu, le plus grand cas de ce chroniqueur ; mais, sur ce point, on doit l'avouer, sa sagacité se trouve en défaut. A l'appui de sa thèse, il n'apporte aucun *fait*. Ses arguments sont, non pas d'un *historien*, mais d'un *dialecticien* d'école, d'un *raisonneur* qui table sur des probabilités, des hypothèses et n'évite pas les pétitions de principe. Toutefois, en raison de l'importance que les américanistes argentins ont jugé bon de leur attribuer, nous avons cru devoir soumettre chacun des syllogismes purement scolastiques de Lozano à un examen serré. Certains, d'ailleurs, n'appellent pas une bien longue discussion, tel celui dont voici le *schéma* : « Comment admettre les victoires des Incas sur les Diaguites de la Sierra, si l'on se rappelle, d'une part, que jamais les Incas n'avaient pu vaincre les *Llaneros* dont les Espagnols sont venus à bout, d'autre part, que les armes espagnoles n'ont su triompher qu'à la longue des terribles *Serranos ?* L'abus puéril du raisonnement analogique que trahit une pareille argumentation, se saisit tout de suite. Il est bon d'ajouter que Lozano, en d'autres passages, comme s'il oubliait sa propre thèse, signale textuellement l'existence de postes établis et de tributs levés par les Cuzquéens sur des parties plus ou moins vastes du Tucuman. Notre dialecticien *in abstracto* ne redoute donc point de se contredire ! Bref, les prétendues preuves apportées par Lozano sont d'une singulière insuffisance et l'on ne s'explique guère qu'elles aient été accueillies par notre ami, M. Ambrosetti, un des partisans les plus sincères et les plus fermes de l'autonomie des ethnographie et civilisation « calchaquies ».

Pour conclure, nous considérons comme *incontestables histo-*

riquement la suzeraineté et l'influence exercées par le Pérou sur les Diaguites.

Géographie linguistique. — Caractère nettement *quichua* de *presque toute* la toponymie du pays des Diaguites. Une petite quantité de noms de lieux provient seule d'autres langues indigènes. En majorité, les habitants de la province de Santiago del Estero parlent encore le quichua comme langue courante et quelques-uns, à l'exclusion même de l'espagnol. En Catamarca et dans la province de La Rioja, dans les vallées isolées en dehors des voies de communication, des personnes très âgées parlent aussi le quichua qui, il y a un siècle, était la langue commune.

Ces faits indéniables n'ont pas échappé aux archéologues argentins. Pour en diminuer la portée, certains ont eu recours à des hypothèses ingénieuses, mais forcées. Par exemple, dans l'introduction du Quichua en pays diaguite, ils voient l'œuvre, non des Péruviens incasiques, mais des Espagnols : des *conquistadores* d'abord, et de leurs *yanaconas* péruviens ; des missionnaires ensuite, désireux pour faciliter leur apostolat, d'instituer une « *lengua general* » indigène (cf. la propagande des « Padres » au Mexique et dans l'Amérique centrale en faveur du nahuatl ou du maya). Mais combien de *yanaconas*, combien d'espagnols parlant le quichua ne supposeraient pas cette diffusion linguistique ? Et, étant constaté aussi le caractère nettement péruvien du folk-lore en pays des Diaguites, il faudrait attribuer également aux religieux l'introduction, avec la langue, de croyances comme la croyance à « Pachamama », au chiqui », etc., etc., et de mainte autre conception religieuse péruvienne.

CONCLUSIONS

Elles peuvent se résumer ainsi :

1°—La culture dite « calchaquie » est, en réalité, quant aux peuples qui la représentent, une culture *diaguite*.

2°—Archéologiquement, par presque tous ses détails, cette culture diaguite se rattache à la grande civilisation préhispanique qui, du Pérou, a irradié sur une si vaste étendue du monde andin.

Par rapport à la civilisation ando-péruvienne, l'ethnographie des Diaguites n'est pas plus indépendante et isolée, que ne sont indépendantes et isolées les unes des autres l'ethnographie locale du Cuzco, celle du Chimu et celle des Yuncas. Soumise en différentes époques et pour des temps plus ou moins longs à la domination des Péruviens, la région des Diaguites a pu, en d'autres moments, s'en détacher. Elle a été largement pénétrée d'influences péruviennes qui ont marqué des traces profondes, aussi bien dans les habitudes de langage, la toponymie et les traditions que dans le matériel des antiquités.

3°—Il est impossible, dans l'état actuel de nos connaissances, d'assigner une date fixe aux vestiges de la culture « calchaquie » ou diaguite et, par suite, d'affirmer si ces vestiges appartiennent tous à la même période. Le contraire semble plus vraisemblable. En tous cas, on est obligé de repousser toutes les classifications ethniques plus ou moins récentes qui font état d'une prétendue « race Calchaquie » distincte. A ce point de vue de l'anthropologie physique, il paraît encore moins permis d'établir, comme un archéologue en a eu l'idée, une parenté d'origine ou une affinité quelconque entre les soi-disant « Calchaquis » et les races septentrionales du Mexique (Pueblos).

4°—Il reste d'ailleurs, que, par la complexité des éléments et des faits qu'elles permettent dès aujourd'hui d'entrevoir, l'archéologie et l'histoire ancienne des pays andins de l'Argentine et spécialement, de la région des Diaguites, intéressent l'Américanisme au plus haut degré,—et qu'une exploration méthodique, complète de ces pays, tant au point de vue des antiquités que de la linguistique, du folk-lore et de la somatologie, est tout à fait désirable. Ajoutons qu'elle est rendue tout à fait urgente par les exploits des chercheurs de trésors et des trafiquants d'antiquités.

South American Linguistic Stocks

PAR ALEXANDER F. CHAMBERLAIN, PH. D.
Professeur Clark University

The need for an authoritative classification of the linguistic stocks of the aboriginal tribes of South America and a map of their distribution, corresponding to the work of Powell on « Linguistic Families of American Indians North of Mexico » is great. For some years past the present writer has devoted special attention to the linguistic cartography of the southern continent in connection with the listing of its independent families of speech. An attempt is here made to enumerate more completely than has been done heretofore these linguistic stocks, and to offer a rough map (not reproduced) of their distribution, which will be followed later by one more accurate and substantial.

It is not the author's intention to give here an exhaustive history of all the attempts to classify the South American tongues. Some of those only belonging to the new era of the last 15 years will be considered.

In 1891 appeared Dr Daniel G. Brinton's « The American Race : A Linguistic Classification and Ethnographic Description of the Native Tribes of North and South America » (N. Y., pp. 392), of which work pages 165-332, 343-364 are devoted to « South American Tribes ». The classification given is based upon inspection of the older authorities (Adelung and Vater, Balbi, Castelnau, Gilii, Hervas, von Martius, d'Orbigny, etc.) and examination of the results of the investigations of scholars, travelers and explorers up to date (Crevaux, Ehrenreich, Ernst, de la Grasserie, im Thurn, Middendorf, von den Steinen, von Tschudi, etc.) Dr Brinton's acquaintance with several European languages besides English, his own large library of Americana, visits to libraries and museums, and access to a very large

portion of the Spanish literature (old and new, European and American) relating to the New World, made this volume a most notable contribution to the literature of the classification of American Indian tongues, belonging with Major J. W. Powell's « Indian Linguistic Families of America North of Mexico », which dates back to the early '80's but was published in the « Report of the Bureau of Ethnology » (Washington) for 1885-1886, which was not really issued till 1891, the year of the appearance of Brinton's « American Race », so these classifications of the peoples of the northern and southern halves of the continent are practically contemporaneous. Curiously enough, Brinton nowhere in his book (not even in the index) gives a complete list in alphabetic order of the linguistic stocks of South America as determined by him, a fact which accounts for differences in the number of these families as attributed to him by other writers who have used his work. Professor O. T. Mason, in the notice of Brinton's book published by him in the « Smithsonian Report » for 1891 (p. 451), enumerates the following « South American Stocks », as given by the former:

1 Aliculuf	16 Chiquito	31 Paniquita
2 Araua	17 Choco	32 Pano
3 Arawak	18 Churoya	33 Payagua
4 Atacamenan	19 Cococuca	34 Peba
5 Aucanian	20 Cuna	35 Puquina
6 Aymara	21 Guaycuru	36 Samuca
7 Barbacoa	22 Jivaros	37 Tacana
8 Betoya	23 Kechua	38 Timote
9 Canichana	24 Lama	39 Tapuya
10 Caraja	25 Lule	40 Tupi
11 Carib	26 Maina	41 Tzonecan
12 Catamarena	27 Mataco	42 Yahgan
13 Changuina	28 Mocoa	43 Yunca
14 Charrua	29 Mosetena	44 Yurucari
15 Chibcha	30 Ona	45 Zaparo

As may be seen from the subsequent lists of McGee and Chamberlain, the category of Mason fails to include, besides several very small or extinct stocks, a number of families recog-

nized by Brinton, e. g. : Andaquian, Caririan, Cayubaban, Guahiban, Itonaman, Moviman, Piaroan, Puinavian, Ticunan, Yaruran, etc ; increasing the total by more than a dozen. The Payagua (or at least some of them) were later (in 1898) affiliated by Brinton with the Guaycuru, and this stock may be removed from the list, although retained by some authorities. At this time (Ling. Cartog. Chaco, p. 23) he also was inclined to affiliate the Charruan with the Tupian.

In a paper read before the International Congress of Anthropology at Chicago in 1893 (Mem. Int. Congr. Anthrop., Chicago. 1894, p. 336) Brinton expressed the opinion that the number of linguistic stocks in South America would ultimately be considerably reduced, to a quantity « less, certainly, than those already recognized in the northern continent ». In his « Studies in South American Native Languages » (Phila., 1892), he demonstrates the independent character of the Cholona language (pp. 30-36), mentioned incidentally in his « American Race », and also removes from the list of Tacanan dialects the Leca tongue, establishing a new linguistic family, the Lecan. In his « Linguistic Cartography of the Chaco Region » (Phila., 1898) he removes the Payaguan from the number of independent linguistic stocks, making in a dialect of Guaycuruan (p. 25), and recognizes another new stock in the Ennima (p. 14). He also inclines to the old conclusion of Waitz that the Cacana (Calchaqui) « was merely a corrupt dialect of the widely extended Quechua stock » (p. 27). In his later publications Brinton still favored the recognition ultimately of Aymaran as affiliated with Quechuan. The alleged relationship of the Onan to the Tsonecan he finally did not admit. In his article on « Indians of South America », in the « Universal Encyclopedia » (N. Y., Vol. VI, 1900, pp. 216-217) Brinton gives but a brief list of stocks. Of possible relationships he suggested, in his « American Race », the following : Aymaran and Quechuan, Betoyan and Chocoan, Apolistan and Tacanan, Calchaquian and Araucanian, Puelchean and Araucanian, Onan and Tsonecan, etc,— some of these he abandoned later. In 1892 (Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc., pp. 249-254) he discussed the languages of Fuegia, coming to the conclusion that the Onan was nearer to the Yahganan

than to the Tsonecan, and practically gave it up as an independent stock.

At page 361 of his « Ethnology » (Cambridge, 1896), Professor A. H. Keane has a not very satisfactory « family tree of Homo Americanus. » The only South American families (the Powellian notation is followed) are these: Muiscan, Arawacan, Cariban, Quechuan, Guaranian, Araucan, Tsonecan. There is evidently no attempt to cover the whole field. Keane is furthermore of opinion that radically distinct languages seem to be less numerous in South America than might be inferred from the statements of early writers » (p. 359), and cites approvingly the observation of Brinton (Mem. Int. Congr. Anthrop., Chicago, 1894, p. 336) that the number of distinct linguistic stocks in South America, contrary to the view generally entertained and shared by himself, is not greater than that in North America. To the present writer, however, the earlier view seems by no means disproved, and Brinton's former position is still preferable.

In his « Man Past and Present » (1900) Keane mentions the followings stocks only: Chibchas, Quechua, Chimus, Atacameños, Araucanians, Pampeans, Tehuelche, Yahgans, Alakalufs, Bororos, Pano, Caraya, Cariban, Arawakan, Gesan, Tupi-Guarani, Tacanas, Tacunas, Chiquito. The Timotes are affiliated with the Chibchas, the Puelche with the Araucanians, the Onas with the Tehuelches.

The sketch map, « mapa étnico de la América Meridional », given by L. M. Torres, as « an improvement on d'Orbigny and Prichard », at page 31 of his « La Ciencia Prehistórica » (Buenos Aires, 1903. pp. 33), outlines the extent of sixteen stocks named as follows:

1 Caribe
2 Tupí
3 Tapuya
4 Andina
5 Nu-aurak
6 Chaqueña
7 Chaná-Timbú
8 Charrúa
9 Puelche
10 Araucana
11 Tehuelche
12 Fuegina
13 Calchaquí
14 Enimagá
15 Moxo
16 Moxo-Mbaure

In this list « Andina » blankets Quechua and Aymara, with a number of smaller independent linguistic stocks belonging to the Pacific coast and the Andean region from Chili to Colombia; « Fuegina » apparently includes the entirely distinct Alikalufan and Yahganan stocks. The Moxo and Mbaure are Arawakan. Chaná-Timbú is a term due to Lafone-Quevedo, who applied it to certain tribes about Espiritu Santo and Santa Fé, — its ethnic significance is doubtful. Nu-aurak is a mistake of the printer for Nu-aruak (Arawak).

The map opposite page 556 of the second volume of Hutchinson, Gregory and Lydekker's « The Living Races of Mankind » (London), contains the following names:

1 Abipone
2 Antisuyu
3 Araucano
4 Arawak
5 Aymara
6 Barre
7 Betoye
8 Bororo
9 Botocudo
10 Caribs
11 Charrua
12 Chibcha
13 Chinchasuyu
14 Chiquito
15 Choco
16 Coconuco
17 Curetu
18 Fuegians
19 Guarani
20 Guarano
21 Guaycuru
22 Jivaro
23 Juri
24 Lule
25 Matacuayo
26 Mocobi
27 Mojos groups
28 Mustene
29 Paeze
30 Pano
31 Puhuelche
32 Purus groups
33 Quichua (Inca)
34 Quitu
35 Tacana
36 Tehuelche (Patagonians).
38 Ticuna
38 Toba
39 Zaparo

The list omits a number of important stocks and does not distinguish in several instances tribal from family names. Thus the Abipones, Bare, Curetu, Mocobi, Quitu, Toba, appear, while « Fuegians » covers the three linguistic stocks of the Archipelago. Antisuyu and Chinchasuyu are also given on the map, but the former is merely a geographical term, and the latter hardly more, — they marked divisions of the Quechua realm and speech.

Dr W J McGee, largely on the authority of Brinton, apparently, gives the following list of South American linguistic stocks in his article on the « American Indians » contribued to the « New International Encyclopedia ». N. Y., Vol. IX, 1903:

1 Alikulufan
2 Andaquian
3 Arauan
4 Araucan (Aucan)
5 Arawakan
6 Atacameñan
7 Aymaran
8 Barbacoan
9 Betoyan
10 Canichanan
11 Carajan
12 Cariban
13 Caririan
14 Catemareñan
15 Cayubaban
16 Changuinan
17 Charruan
18 Chibchan
19 Chiquitan
20 Chocoan
21 Chonekan(Tzonecan)
22 Churoyan
23 Coconucan
24 Cunan
25 Guahiban (Guaybar)
26 Guaraunan
27 Guaycuruan
28 Itonaman
29 Jaruran(Yaruran)
30 Jivaroan
31 Laman
32 Lulean
33 Mainan
34 Matacoan
35 Mocoan
36 Mosateñan
37 Moviman (Mobiman)
38 Onan
39 Paniquitan
40 Panoan
41 Payaguan
42 Peban
43 Piaroan (Salivan)
44 Puinavian
45 Puquinan
46 Quechuan (Kechuan)
47 Salivan (Piaroan)
48 Samucuan
49 Tacanan
50 Tapuyan
51 Timotean
52 Tupian
53 Yahganan
54 Yuncan
55 Yurucarean
56 Zaparoan

A. F. Chamberlain, in the list of American Indian linguistic stocks given in his article on the « American Indians » in the Encyclopedia Americana (N. Y., Vol. VIII, 1904), includes the following South American:

1 Alikulufan
2 Andaquian
3 Arauan
4 Araucanian (Aucan)
5 Arawakan
6 Atacameñan
7 Aymaran
8 Barbacoan
9 Betoyan
10 Calchaquian (Catamareñan)
11 Canichanan (Canisianan)
12 Carajan
13 Cariban
14 Caririan
15 Cayubaban
16 Charruan
17 Chibchan
18 Chiquitan
19 Chocoan
20 Churoyan
21 Coconucan
22 Cunan
23 Guahiban
24 Guaraunan
25 Guaycuruan
26 Itonaman
27 Jivaroan
28 Kechuan
29 Laman
30 Lulean
31 Mainan
32 Matacoan
33 Mocoan
34 Mosateñan
35 Moviman
36 Onan
37 Otomacan
38 Paniquitan
39 Panoan
40 Payaguan
41 Peban
42 Piaroan
43 Puinavian
44 Puquinan
45 Salivan
46 Samucuan
47 Tacanan
48 Tapuyan
49 Ticunan
50 Timotean
51 Tsonekan
52 Tupian
53 Yahganan
54 Yaruran
55 Yuncan
56 Yurucarean
57 Zaparoan

There are few differences in the lists of Chamberlain and McGee. The Changuinan does not belong properly among South American stocks, being confined altogether to the western portion of the isthmus of Panama. McGee drops the Otomacan, probably by inadvertence. As to nomenclature, Chamberlain prefers Araucanian, Tsonekan, Yaruran; McGee, Araucan, Chonekan, Jaruran. The former uses Calchaquian, the latter Catamareñan for one and the same stock. The number of stocks listed is 57 and 56 respectively.

Dr Paul Ehrenreich, in his valuable *aperçu*, « Die Ethnographie Südamerikas im Beginn des XX. Jahrhunderts, etc. » (Arch f. Anthrop., Vol. XXXI, 1905, pp. 39-75, enumerates 52 stocks as follows :

1 Alikaluf
2 Araukan
3 Arowak
4 Betoya
5 Bororo
6 Caraya
7 Chango
8 Chibcha (Muysca)
9 Chiquito
10 Cholon
11 Churuja
12 Coronuco
13 Gès (Tapuya)
14 Goytacaz (Waitakka).
15 Guaicuru
16 Guato
17 Ite (Itena)
18 Jivaro
19 Juri
20 Karaib
21 Kuyuaba
22 Kechua
23 Kolya (Aymara)
24 Lama
25 Likan-antai (Atacameño)
26 Lorenzo
27 Lule
28 Machicui (Muscovi)
29 Mataco
30 Miranha
31 Mosetene
32 Mura
33 Otomaco
34 Paniquita
35 Pano
36 Piaroa
37 Puelche
38 Saliva
39 Samuco (Chamacoco)
40 Tacana
41 Ticuna
42 Timote
43 Trumai
44 Tsoneca (Tehuelche)
45 Tupi (Guarani)
46 Uru (Puquina)
47 Yahgan
48 Yahua (Peba)
49 Yaruro
50 Yunka
51 Yurakare
52 Zaparo

Ehrenreich's list does not include a number of minor stocks found here and there in the Andean region from Colombia to Chile. He assigns an independent position to the Juri (designated Arawakan by Brinton) and includes the Onas in the Tsonecan. As independent is also recognized the Goytacan, which Brinton, following von Martius, makes a

sub-stock of Tapuyan. Puelche Ehrenreich likewise gives an independent status, - Brinton included them in his Aucanian (Araucanian) stock. The Lorenzo, known only by this name since 1880, is not in Brinton's list. The Machicui corresponds more or less with the Ennima of Brinton (Ling. Cartog. Chaco, 1898, p. 14). The Mura were classified by Brinton as Tapuyan; the Miranha do not appear in his list as an independent stock. He also ranked the Bororo among the Tupian tribes. The independent position of the Trumai was made more or less certain in 1884-1887 and does not appear in Brinton's category of stocks.

Among possible relationships Dr Ehrenreich indicates the following: Miranha and Juri with Betoya; the Calchaqui he regards as a mixed people and the Ona as belonging to the Tsonecan family. The Charruas are given no independent status. The Cunan he affiliates with the Chibchan.

Dr Ehrenreich's classification, which is an elaboration, to include the whole continent, of his essay, « Ueber die Einteilung und Verbreitung der Völkerstämme Braziliens », published in « Petermanns Mitteilungen » for 1891[1], is based upon his own researches and the literature of the subject since that date: Adam, Ambrosetti, Boggiani, Brinton (well-used), Campana, Colini, Guevara, Hartrey, Huonder, Ihering, Koch, Lafone-Quevedo, Lehmann-Nitsche, Lenz, Meyer, Schmidt, von den Steinen, etc. It is naturally strongest in the Brazilian and immediately connected areas.

The writer of the present paper finds the linguistic stocks of South America, past and present (the approximate positions of all are indicated on the rough map accompanying this essay,—a revised map will be published later), to the about as follows:

1 *Alikulufan.*—Western part of archipelago of Tierra del Fuego and adjacent islands and coast to the northwest up to the Chonoan.

2 *Andaquian.*—In the eastern Cordillera of Colombia, about the head-waters of the Fragua, between 1° and 2° n. lat., and 75° w. long.

3 *Apolistan.*—Named from the Apolo, a tributary of the Beni, between 14° and 15° s. lat., northern Bolivia;

when Christanized dwelt at Apolobamba 165 miles north of La Paz.

4 *Arauan.*—On the lower Jurua, the Madeira and Purus rivers, N. W. Brazil.

5 *Araucanian.*—Pacific coast region in Chile, etc., from Copiapó to Chiloe, some 25 degrees of latitude; also in the Pampas and Patagonia, extending at one time, probably to the Atlantic in the region of the mouth of the La Plata.

6 *Arawakan.*—Widely scattered over northeastern and central South America; tribes of this stock found in northwestern Venezuela, in the highlands of southern Bolivia, on the upper Paraguay, at the mouth of the Amazon, and in various other regions between these limits; also formerly the Antilles and Bahamas, with an offshoot or colony on the S. W. coast of Florida.

7 *Ardan.*—On the rivers Napo and Masso, contiguous to the Laman tribes, between 3° and 4° s. lat., in S. E. Ecuador and the adjoining Brazilian territory.

8 *Atacamenan.*—In the region about Atacama, and about 20° to 23° s. lat., on the Pacific coast, down to the Changoan.

9 *Aymaran.*—In Peru and Bolivia, the region about L. Titicaca.

10 *Barbacoan.*—Colombia and Ecuador, about 1° and 2° n. lat., and 1° s. lat.; on the upper Patia and Telembe; on the Daule, Chone and Tachi; and on the coast.

11 *Betoyan.*—In Colombia, Venezuela, Brazil, on the rivers Meta, Apure, Caquetá, Putomayo, Uaupés, Negro, Casanare, Apaporis, etc., scattered over the region from 3° s. to 7° n. lat.

12 *Bororoan.*—In central Matto Grosso, on the Xingú-Araguay watershed, and on the upper Paraguay; roving west to Cuyabá and east to Goyaz.

13 *Calchaquian.*—In a considerable section of the Pampas and Chaco, adjoining the Quechuan, Araucanian and tribes of the Chaco in Bolivia and the Argentine,

particularly in the region about Catamarca, the valleys of the rivers from Cordova north and west; also in the country about Buenos Aires at one time.

14 *Canarian.*—In the region about the Gulf of Guayaquil, Peru-Ecuador; language abandoned after Inca conquest.

15 *Canichanan.*—On the rivers Mamoré and Machupo in northeastern Bolivia, between 13° and 14° s. lat. and about 65° w. long.

16 *Carajan.*—In the Goyaz region of south central Brazil, on the Araguay and Xingú rivers and their affluents.

17 *Cariban.*—Widely disseminated in Venezuela, Guiana and part of Brazil, etc.; also the Lesser Antilles and Caribby Islands; had driven the Arawakan from a considerable portion of the territory occupied; a Carib colony now exists also on the northern coast of Honduras in Central America.

18 *Caririan.*—In eastern Brazil,, in the Bahia-Pernambuco-Piauhy region north and west of the river San Francisco.

19 *Cayubaban.*—In N. E. Bolivia, on the Mamoré river and its small tributaries, in the region about 66° w. long, and between 12° and 13° s. lat.

20 *Changoan.*—On the littoral of the Pacific, from about 22° to 24° s. lat., particularly in the region of Cobija, next to the Atacameñan.

21 *Chapacuran.*—On the river Blanco or Baurés, in northeastern Bolivia, in the region between 64° and 65° w. long., and about 15° s. lat.; afterwards at the mission of Carmen.

22 *Charruan.*—At its greatest extent occupied the region from the Paraná to the sea-coast between the mouth of the La Plata and the L. dos Patos, including all of modern Uruguay, etc.

23 *Chibchan.*—Formerly widely disseminated in Colombia, or New Granada, as it was earlier called, north, northeast, and northwest from the highlands of

Bogotá and Tunja; also several offshoots in Panama and Costa Rica in Central America.

24 *Chiquitan.* In S. E. Bolivia, over a region extending from 16 to 18 s. lat., and between 59 and 64 w. long., bordering south on the Chaco; included as *enclavés* several minor stocks,

25 *Chocoan.* In N. W. Colombia and the isthmus of Panama, between the Gulf of Uraba and San Miguel, in the lower valley of the Atrato, occupying a region from 8 to 4 n. lat.

26 *Cholonan.*—On the Huallaga river in N. E. Peru, adjacent to the Ticunas; afterwards in Cajamarquilla between 7° and 8°. 30 s. lat.

27 *Chonoan.*—In the archipelago of Chonos and the adjacent coast, from about 45° to 52° s. lat.

28 *Churoyan.*—On the rivers Guejar, Meta, about the Ature cataract of the Orinoco, etc., in the territory of St. Martin, on the Colombia-Venezuela border about n. lat. 7° and w. long. 68°.

29 *Coconucan.*—In S. E. Colombia, in the Sierra between the Magdalena and Cauca, on the head-waters of the Puracé and Cauca, on the western slope of the Cordillera, etc., in the region about 2° 30 n. lat., and 76° w. long.

30 *Corabecan.*—In the region south of San Rafael, S. E. Bolivia about 18° n. lat. and 60° w. long.

31 *Cunan.*—In extreme N. W. of Colombia and the isthmus of Panama, from the Gulf of Uraba and the river Atrato west to the Chagres.

32 *Curavecan.*—On the river Tucabaca, in S. E. Bolivia, about 18° 30 s. lat., and between 59° and 60° w. long.

33 *Curucanecan.*—In S. E. Bolivia, about 16° s. lat., and 60° w. long.; later at the mission of San Rafael.

34 *Curuminacan.*—In S. E. Bolivia, adjacent to the Otuquian, about s. lat. 16° and w. long. 60°; afterwards at the mission Sta. Ana.

35 *Enimagan.*—In the Gran Chaco, between 21° and 24° s. lat., on the right bank of the Paraguay westward;

from about 58° to 62° w. long, broadening to the N. W.

36 *Goyatacan.*—In eastern Brazil, province of Goyaz, etc., from the Parahyba north and northeast; on the rivers da Pomba, Mucury, de Porto Seguro, etc.; south of the Caririan, with intervening Tapuyan.

37 *Guahiban.*—In the Colombia-Venezuelan border region, between the Casanare and the Meta rivers, and on the left bank of the Orinoco from the Meta to the Vichada; next to the Piaroan; in the country between about 71° to 68° 30 w. long, and 4° 40 to 5° 30 n. lat.

38 *Guarauman.*—In and about the delta of the Orinoco in N. E. Venezuela and part of N. W. British Guiana.

39 *Guatoan.*—In the northern Chaco and about the head-waters of the Paraguay and Araguay, in the region about Albuquerque, etc.

40 *Guaycuruan.*—Widely dispersed at various times over a large portion of the Gran Chaco, etc., in the Argentine, Bolivia, Paraguay, Brazil, on the Paraguay, Pilcomayo, Vermejo, Miranda, Xerui, Mondego; roved from 19°. 30 to 33° s. lat., and from nearly 55° to nearly 64° w. long.

41 *Itenean.*—In N. E. Bolivia, between 12° and 13° s. lat., and 64° to 66° w. long.; in the region about the confluence of the Guaporé, or Itenés, and the Mamoré, and on some of their small affluents.

42 *Itonaman.*—In N. E. Bolivia, on the river Itonama, between 13° and 14° n. lat., and 63° to 65° w. long., later at the missions of Magdalena and San Ramon.

43 *Itucalean,*—In N. E. Peru, on the Chambiri, a tributary of the Amazon, about s. lat. 4°. 30, and w. long. 75°, close to the Laman.

44 *Jivaran.*—In southern Ecuador and northern Peru, in the eastern Cordilleras, between 2° and 4°. 30 s. lat.; on the rivers Paute, Morona, Santiago, and other tributaries of the Amazon, and also on part of that river in this region.

45 *Laman.*—In the Ecuador-Peruvian border region, on the Huallaga, the Amazon near Nauta, etc., and formerly between the rivers Tigre and Napo, about s. lat. 4°, and w. long. 74°

46 *Lecan.*—In N. W. Bolivia, on the river Beni towards L. Titicaca, on the Mapiri, and formerly on the Tipuani and Isuaya; about s. lat. 14° to 15° and 68° w. long.; found at the mission of Aten and Guanay.

47 *Lorenzan.*—In the 18th century in the Pozuzo valley in N. Peru and now on the rivers Palcassu, Pichis and Chuchurras.

48 *Lulean.*—In the Argentine Gran Chaco, on the rivers Vermejo, Salado, Pilcomayo, etc.; roved between 24° and 27° s. lat., and 61° and 65° w. long., but chiefly massed in the region of s. lat. 25° and w. long 64°.

49 *Mainan.*—In the Peru-Ecuador border region, in the country about s. lat. 4°. w. long. 65°, on the rivers Chambiri, Tigre and Amazon, etc., between the Jivaran and Zaparan and the Laman, etc.

50 *Makuan.*—In N. W. Brazil, on the rivers Caiary, Papury, Ira Parana, Curicuriary, Marie, etc., between the Negro and the Yapurá, scattered over the country from about 2° n. lat. to 1°. 30 s. lat., and from about 66° to 70° w. long., adjoining Cariban, Betoyan, Miranhan, etc.

51 *Matacan.*—In the central Gran Chaco, at its greatest extent from the Paraguay to the slopes of the Andes, and from the upper Pilcomayo to the upper Salado and lower Vermejo, approximately between 21° and 26° s. lat., and 58° to 65° w. long., but largely massed on the middle and upper Vermejo.

52 *Miranhan.*—In N. W. Brazil, on the rivers Cauinary and Yapurá, and westward in the country between the Yapurá, and Içá, grouped especially in the region about 1° n. lat., and 71° w. long.

53 *Mocoan.*—In S. E. Colombia, between 1° and 2° n. lat., on the tributaries of the Caquetá, the head-waters of

the Putomayo, etc.; numerous near the town of Mocoa.

54 *Mosetenan*.—In N. W. Bolivia, along the river Beni and its affluents, between 14° and 16° s. lat., and 66° to 68° w. long.

55 *Movimam*.—In N. E. Bolivia, on the Manoré and its western tributary the Yucuma, about 13° to 14° s. lat. and between 65° and 66° w. long., afterwards at the Mission of Sta. Ana on the Yacuma.

56 *Muran*.—In N. W. Brazil, in the region about the confluence of the Madeira and Purus; between the Purus and the lower Negro.

57 *Ocoronan*.—In N. E. Bolivia, near the Itonaman.

58 *Onan*.—In eastern Tierra del Fuego; east of the Alikalufan and north of the Yahganan.

59 *Otomacan*.—In S. W. Venezuela, on the Orinoco, between the Meta and Arauca; later on the Meta, and in the *llanos*, about 70° w. long., and 5°. 30 n. lat.; near the Yaruran.

60 *Otuquian*.—In S. E. Bolivia, between 59° and 60° w. long., and 18° and 19° s. lat., afterwards at the mission of Santo Corazon.

61 *Paniquitan*.—In western and Central Colombia beyond the Chibchan, on the rivers Magdalena, Cauca, Neyva, Carare, etc.

62 *Panoan*.—In E. Peru and the adjacent Bolivian and Brazilian territory, on the rivers Marañon, Madeira, Madre de Dios, Pachitea and Aguaitia, Tapichi and Javarí, Beni, Huallaga and Yucayali, Purus and Jurua, but particularly on the Yucayali and Javarí, disseminated over the region from about 4° to 10° s. lat., and 70° to 77° w. long.

63 *Peban*.—In the Peru-Ecuador border country between the Napo and Marañon and the Putomayo, particularly in the region 3° to 4° s. lat., 71° to 73° w. long.

64 *Piaroan*.—In the Venezuela Colombia border land, on the rivers Vichada, Mataweni, etc., and around the

Maipure rapids; in the region about 5° n. lat., and 69° w. long.

65 *Puelchean.*—In central and eastern Argentina, particularly between the rivers Colorado and Negro, from the foot-hills of the Andes to the Atlantic.

66 *Puinavian.*—In E. Colombia, on the river Inirada, a tributary of the Guaviare, about n. lat. 2° 30, w. long. 69° to 70°.

67 *Puquinan.*—On the islands and marsh-lands at the south end of L. Titicaca, about Pucarini, etc., within the Aymaran area.

68 *Quechuan.*—Disseminated over a large area of what is now modern Ecuador and Peru, part of Bolivia, Chili and the Argentine, extending in extreme from about 3° n. lat. to about 32° s. lat., and from the shore of the Pacific to about 70° w. long. in the north and about 65° in the south; as a great culture-people centering about Cuzco, etc.

69 *Salivan.*—In the Venezuela-Colombia border-land, on the Orinoco, and the Etori and Cinarouco, the Meta, Ventauri, Merevari, etc., in the region between about 5° 30 and 6° 30 n. lat., and 64° to 68° w. long.

70 *Samucan.*—In the northern Chaco in Argentina, Bolivia, etc., from the Paraguay westward, roving over the region between 18° and 21° 30 s. lat., and 57° 30 to 63, w. long, at greatest extent.

71 *Tacanan.*—In northern Bolivia, in the valley of the Beni, between 12° and 15° s. lat., and 70 to 71 w. long.

72 *Tapuyan.*—Widely disseminated over eastern Brazil, tribes of this stock being found from the Xingú river to the Atlantic and about 5° s. lat. to beyond 30° s. lat., preceded perhaps the Tupian on the Atlantic coast, on rivers Tocantins, Doce, Mucury, Pardo, Jequitinhona, Piquiri, Iguassu, Ivahy, Araguay, Xingú, Maranhao, etc.; central in Goyaz.

73 *Ticunan.*—In the Brazil-Peru-Ecuador border region, N. W. Brazil, about the lower Javarí and Amazon, south

of the Putomayo; near the Pehan, about long. 72° w., and lat. 3° to 4° s.

74 *Timotean.*—In N. W. Venezuela, in the mountainous region of Merida, south from L. Maracaibo.

75 *Trumaian.*—In west central Brazil, about the rivers that unite to form the Xingú.

76 *Tsonekan.*—In Patagonia, from the Rio Negro to the Straits of Magellan, and from the Atlantic to the Andes.

77 *Tupian.*—Widely disseminated over Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay, Bolivia, etc. and formerly along the entire coast, more or less, from the La Plata to the Amazon; tribes of this stock are found on the lower Amazon, Tocantins, Tapajoz, Xingú, Maranhao, Madeira and Amazon, Yucayali, and Paray, Pilcomayo in Bolivia, Paraná Uruguay, Paraguay, Curitibà, Oyapock, etc.

78 *Uitotan.*—In N. W. Brazil next the Miranhan, in the region west from about s. lat. 1 and w. long. 71, between the rivers Yapurá and Içà and particularly on the Carapaná and Igara-paraná.

79 *Yahganan.*—In the Archipelago of Tierra del Fuego, south of the Onan and southeast of the Alikulufan, ; on Beagle Channel, Navarin, and Cape Horn Is., now partly settled at the Mission of Ushuaia.

80 *Yaruran.* — In the Venezuela-Colombia border country, about the Orinoco, between the Meta and the Capanaparo, replacing the Otomacos about the mouth of the Arauca.

81 *Yuncan.*—In the coast region of northern Peru, from 5° to 10° s. lat., particularly in the country about Truxillo, near lat. 8°. Long extinct.

82 *Yurucarean.*—In northern Bolivia, in the region between 16° and 17° s. lat. and 67 to 69 w. long., on various affluents of the Mamoré, Secura, Chimoré, etc.

83 *Zaparan.*—In southern Ecuador and the adjacent Peruvian country, south of the Jivaran; between the Napo and Pastasa and on the Morona, down to the

Amazon, in the region from about 3° to 5° s. lat., and 73° to 78° w. long.

Besides the stocks enumerated above, the lists of Hervas, d'Orbigny, etc., suggest that not a few others would be recognized, if more accurated data were obtainable, particularly in the Andean and Cordilleran regions of the Pacific all the way from north to south. Some of these may be fixed later.

The Aymaran and Quechuan are here held to be distinct stocks, the evidence for their union is not convincing; unsatisfactory are also the attempts to affiliate the Calchaquian with Quechuan or with Araucanian; the Onan with Tehuelchean; the Charruan with Guaycuruan, Tupian or Tapuyan; the Goyatecan with Tapuyan; the Goyatecan with Tapuyan, etc.

The smaller stocks, like the Andaquian, Apolistan, Ardan, Canichanan, Cayubaban, Chapacuran, Cholonan, Churoyan, Corabecan, Curavecan, Curuconecan Curuminacan, Guahiban, Itonaman, Itucalean, Lecan, Lorenzan, Moseteñan, Moviman, Ocoronan, Otuquian, Piaroan, Puinavian, Yaruran and Yurucarean, are, some of them, quite important for comparative linguistics, although concerning a number very little indeed is known. The evidence at hand, however, the present writer thinks, justifies the inclusion of these latter in the list. The Bororoan and Trumaian have been shown to be independant stocks quite recently through the researches of von den Steinen, etc. Koch's investigations in 1903-1905 seem to have established the independence of the Uitotan and the Makuan (this last is his special discovery), and confirmed that of the Miranhan.

In nomenclature, the author has preferred Arawakan to Nu-Arawak and Tupian to Tupi-Guaranian, for various reasons, including the avoidance of compound names. Other reasons have led to the choice of Enimagan over Maskoi, Guaraunan over Warrauan, Tapuyan over Gês, etc.

The map of distribution of South American linguistic stocks has several very interesting features. One of these is the remarkable dissemination of the Cariban and Tupian, and, particularly, the Arawakan, families, who have not been culture-peoples; and also of the Quechuan, the great culture-bearing stock of the Pacific slope,—only less remarkable, in some respects is the distribution of the Chibchan (another culture-folk)

the culture-bearing Aymaran, and to a less extent, the Calchaquian and Araucanian. Notable also is the extent and roving of the very primitive Tapuyan, thought by some to be the oldest stock of the continent. The environment of the Gran Chaco is *sui generis*. Curious is the existence of three separate stocks in the inclement extreme south. The « pullulation » of stocks in the Bolivian-Peruvian, Peruvian-Ecuadorian, and Colombian-Venezuelan regions can be compared only with similar phenoma in the country from Mexico to Alaska on the Pacific coast of North America. Another interesting parallel in the distribution of linguistic stocks in the two halves of the New World is the occurrence of extensive families on the Atlantic side. The resemblance between the Calchaquian environment and culture and that of the Pueblos of Arizona-New Mexico, emphasized recently by Ambrosetti, may include even the existence in both areas of a congeries of languages, involving in each case several distinct stocks.

Of the South American lingustic stocks, the Arawakan, the Cariban and the Chibchan have gone beyond the limits of the continent proper. The first had occupied the West Indies (from part of which, as from portions of Venezuela, Guiana, etc., they were subsequently driven by the Cariban tribes) long before the discovery of Colombus, and had a colony also on the south coast of Florida, the only known example of the existence of a South American stock in America north of Mexico. Besides their settlements in the West Indies, the Cariban stock are represented by the « Black Caribs », etc., of the Honduras coast, Central America, who are the descendants of natives brought thither from the island of St. Vincent by the British in the 18th century. Chibchan stock is represented in Panama and Costa Rica, according to Thomas (Amer. Anthrop., 1902, p. 208) by the following tribes; Guatuso, Guaymi, Guetare, Boruca, Bribri, Terrabà, etc. There is no evidence that any other entirely South American stocks have sent branches outside their own area in the continent.

AN EFFORT TO
ENCOURAGE INDIAN ART

PAR Melle ANGEL DE CORA, Carlisle, Pa.

Indians like any other race in its primitive state, are gifted in original ideas of ornamentation. The pictorial talent is common to all young Indians.

A great deal has been said and written on the art-industries of the race and much of their art products have been gathered into museums, but nothing has ever been done to encourage or further their progress. On the other hand all the invironments and motives that inspire the art of a race just at this particular stage of natural developement, have been taken from them. The change that the American Indians have had to make in their mode of life, and the short time in which they have had to do it, are enough to shock any human mind. Do you wonder then, that the whole race seems dispirited and craves degrading stimulants!

Here and there yet remains some individual Indian who has not been touched by the consuming energy of the white race, and who is styled savage and improgressive by those who have gone to him in the name of the white man's religion. He has been tenacious of something which satisfied his spiritual and moral being. Go to him if you think it worth while, and get his story. After he has given you what you want, don't think that what he gave out has left a vacancy in his spiritual nature for you to fill in with your own ideas. Perhaps you have no vacant space for what you have got from him, but a thousand or more years ago, some forefather of yours was telling the same sort of a story by the light of his camp-fire. Compare ideas rationally with the Indian, and you will find that the deep and sublime principles that underlie all human nature are the same.

The difference is in the customs and habits of a thousand years and more, that lie between the Indian and the Caucasian.

In the United States, the method of educating the Indian in the past was to attempt to transform him into a brown Caucasian within the space of five years or little more. The Indian educators made every effort to convince the Indian, that any custom or habit that was not peculiar to the white man, showed savagery and degradation. A general attempt was made to bring him « up to date ». The Indian, who is so bound up in tribal laws and customs, knew not where to make the distinction, nor what of his natural instincts to discord, and the consequence was that he either became superficial and arrogant and denied his race, or he grew dispirited and silent.

In the five months' work that I have done at the Carlisle Indian School in Pa., I am convinced that the young Indians of the present day are still gifted in the pictorial art.

Heretofore, the Indian pupil has been put thro'. The same public school course as the white child with no regard for his heridatary difference of mind and habit of life-yet tho' the only art instruction is the white man's art, the Indian even here does better than the white child, for his accurate eye and skillful hand serve him well in anything that requires delicacy of hand work.

At an Educational Conference last summer, I saw an exhibit of Indian school work. Several walls were covered with such samples. The art work was the usual insipid spray of flower or budding twig done in a slap-dash style, and some geometrical designs apparently made under the strict directions of a teacher. The only trace of Indian in the exhibition were some of the signatures denoting clannish names. The art show was a farce, and as I stood there looking at the work, I could not help but call to mind the Indian woman, untaught and unhampered by white man's ideas of art, making beautiful and intricate designs the pouches and belts she makes of beads.

The white designer sits within four walls embroidering on velvet or cloth her little spray of flower or a single leaf. The Indian artist sits in the open, drawing her inspiration from the broad espects of Nature. Her zig-zag line indicates the line of hills in the distance, and the blue and white back ground so

usual in the Indian color scheme denotes the sky. Her bold touches of green, red and yellow, she has learned from Nature's use of these colors in the green grass and flowers, and the soft tans that were the general tone of ground color in the days of skin garments are to her as the parched grass and the desert. She makes her strong color contrasts under the glare of the sun, whose brilliancy makes even her bright tones seem softened into tints.

But take this same piece of work and put it in a gloomy museum or within the darkened walls of the white man's home, and what was meant to be seen in the sunlight now looks glaring and bold. It shocks the sensitive whiteman, whose perception has grown softened and perverted thro' artificial living, and he calls the Indian's color scheme barbaric and crude.

The white man has convinced the young Indian that in order to be a so-called civilized person he must discord all such barbarisms.

When I first introduced my subject of Indian art to the Indians at Carlisle, a smile went round the room and when I asked for the cause of it, one boy answered « They don't know any thing about Indian work and what good will it do as any way ».

This sort of thing would have discouraged me if I too had been succesfully CIVILIZED.

I made daily appeals to the Indian's strongest instinct, that of racial pride. I endeavored to recall to my pupils' minds, the days of the old life and to send them back in imagination to the time when their grand mothers, and their fathers and mothers produced the native art-work. But even this did not bring forth what I wanted. The Indian blood has become diluted thro' the admixture of white blood and I found that I had to manufacture my Indians. I advised my pupils to try in every possible way to learn something of the Indian lore of the past, and the best that I could do, for these Indians who were transplanted from all contact with their own people, was to refer them to the Reports of the Bureau of Ethnology.

It must be remembered that most of the Indians of the Carlisle school have been under civilizing influence from early youth, and have in many instances entirely lost the traditions

of their people. But even a few months have proved to me that none of their Indian instincts have perished but have only lain dormant. Even in a mixed blood, who has not retained any of the physical traits, the Indian dominates the white blood, and is quickly roused to native pride once that pride it appealed to.

When the mind was once started in its true line of thought, the young Indians instinctively recognized themselves as Indians and came into their own. The native instinct which was still there, tho' unawakened, now immediately became active, and produced within the space of a few weeks some of these designs which I have with me. I have taken care to leave my pupils creative faculty absolutely independent, and to let each student draw from his own mind, true to his own thought and to his own tribal method of symbolic design.

The work now produced at Carlisle in comparison to that which I saw at the Educational Conference, would impress one with the great difference between the white and the Indian designer. For me two Indian drawings are alike, and every one is original work.

I discourage any floral designs such as are seen in Ojibaway beadwork. Indian art seldom made use of the details of plant forms, but typified nature in its broader aspects, using also animal forms, and symbols of human life.

The following incident occurred in one of my classes. A young man come into my class room time after time, but did not meet my demands to produce some Indian design. He used to sit there, looking very wistful but could not answer even my first question as to what tribe he belonged to. One day he seemed ready to speak, so I went up to him and asked him what he wanted. Almost tragically he said, « Can you tell me about my tribe ». On further questioning him, I found that he was an Alaskan Indian, but of what band he couldn't tell me. So I took up a booklet by Dr Boaz on the Northwestern Indians and began turning the pages. When I came upon some reproductions of the Haida decorations and blankets, he exclaimed with joy, « That's my tribe! « He explained to me then and there something of the family organizations of his tribe, and also made a very beautiful and interesting border design, using the killer-

whale as the theme. He told me with great pride that he belonged to the "black fish" family and also to the beaver.

When encouraged to be themselves, my pupils are only too glad to become Indians again, and with just a little further work along these lines, I feel that we shall be ready to adapt our Indian talents to the daily needs and uses of modern life. We want to find a place for our art even as the Japanese have found a place for theirs throughout the civilized world.

The young Indian is now mastering all the industrial trades, and there is no reason why he should not leave his own artistic mark on what he produces.

In closing I would like, as an Indian, to express my appreciation and gratitude to Mrs. Mason for her rare understanding of the Indian's poetic expression in all that was his life. If such sympathy and understanding had been given him in the beginning, the Indian would before this, have had the opportunity to reveal himself.

Les langues sauvages du Canada
ET L'ORAISON DOMINICALE

PAR M. LE Dr N.-E. DIONNE

La sublime Oraison que le Sauveur de l'humanité apprit lui-même à ses disciples, le *Pater*, servit de première leçon religieuse aux sauvages de la Nouvelle-France. Ceux qui en enseignèrent la lettre aux tribus algonquines, huronnes et iroquoises, se recrutent parmi les missionnaires catholiques, surtout les Jésuites. Ceux-ci commençaient par leur faire réciter mot à mot l'Oraison dominicale afin que le grand Manitou rendit leur apostolat plus efficace, puis ils leur expliquaient le sens de chaque verset. Certains passages sonnaient plus agréablement que d'autres aux oreilles des élèves. Le Père Le Jeune demandait, un jour, à un Montagnais, quelle était la partie de l'Oraison qu'il aimait le mieux. Tu nous dis plusieurs choses, répliqua l'Indien, mais la suivante me paraît meilleure : *Mirinan oukachigatz nimitchiminan*, c'est-à-dire : « donne-nous notre nourriture ». Le fait est que pour arriver au cœur des naturels de l'Amérique, il faut s'assurer tout d'abord si la partie animale est en bon état. Et, comme dit le Livre de la Sagesse, celui qui n'a jamais été qu'à l'école de la chair, ne saurait parler le langage de l'esprit. »

Les langues sauvages sont difficiles à apprendre. Certains missionnaires, dans les premiers temps de la colonie française au Canada, ne purent jamais y parvenir. D'autres réussirent à demi ; quelques-uns cependant, — ceux-là étaient doués d'une facilité hors ligne, — s'en rendirent les maitres, mais seulement à force de travail et de persévérance. C'est ainsi que le Père LeJeune écrivait de Québec, en 1634 : « Je jargonne néanmoins, et à force de crier je me fais entendre ». « Huit ans », écrivait le Père Mengarini, jésuite, auteur d'une petite grammaire de la

langue des Têtes-Plates, « ne sauraient suffire à un Européen, même dix-huit, pour parvenir à connaître tout le mécanisme d'une seule langue indienne ».

Les difficultés inhérentes à ces sortes d'études se conçoivent aisément pour l'époque qui se rapporte aux premiers temps de la Nouvelle-France. Au début de la colonie, les interprètes faisaient souvent défaut, soit par mauvais vouloir de la part des truchements indiens, soit encore par timidité de la part des interprètes français eux-mêmes qui, dans le principe, étaient peu familiers avec les divers idiomes du pays. C'était si bien le cas, que le Père LeJeune en fait une mention spéciale dans une lettre de 1633 : « J'ai remarqué, dit-il, dans l'étude de leur langue qu'il y a un certain baragouin entre les Français et les Sauvages, qui n'est ni français ni sauvage ; et cependant quand les Français s'en servent, ils pensent parler sauvage, et les sauvages, en l'usurpant, croient parler bon français. »

La même anomalie eut cours dans l'Acadie primitive ; les Basques français jouèrent un grand rôle dans l'histoire de ce pays alors soumis à la couronne de France. Les Basques avaient appris une foule de mots français ; ils s'en servaient en les dénaturant, et en émaillaient ensuite leur langage avec une facilité prodigieuse. Les missionnaires et les Français se heurtèrent tout d'abord à ces difficultés du mélange confus de deux langues peu faites pour s'allier ensemble.

Les langues sauvages ne manquent pas de richesse ; loin de là, mais les missionnaires d'antan se plaignent qu'elles n'apportent pas toujours le mot propre pour exprimer les choses les plus ordinaires de la vie. Ainsi, pour ne parler que de l'idiome algonquin, nous ne rencontrons point dans son dictionnaire, de mots (ici je ne parle pas d'autorité mais bien sur la foi de spécialistes) qui traduisent littéralement les verbes *pardonner* et *sanctifier* que l'on voit figurer dans l'Oraison dominicale. Les mots *père*, *ciel*, *royaume*, *terre*, *pain*, *tentation*, pour un chrétien, ont aussi un autre sens que le sens littéral. Voilà pourquoi il devient impossible de traduire le *Pater* en algonquin sans déranger un peu la signification du texte original, tant les mots qui le composent représentent des idées étrangères à l'entendement comme au langage de ces Indiens. Que l'on ne soit donc pas surpris de la diversité des versions que nous ont

léguées, depuis deux cent-cinquante ans, les missionnaires de l'Amérique, à commencer par le Père Jésuite Massé qui, le premier, a traduit le *Pater* en montagnais, jusqu'au Père La Brosse qui, en 1767, publia, aussi en montagnais, le fameux *Nehiro-Iriniui Aiamihe Massinahigan*, c'est-à-dire le *Livre de prières des hommes nationaux* (1).

Que l'on compare les deux textes et l'on s'apercevra que la différence est assez marquée.

TRADUCTION DU P. MASSÉ	TRADUCTION DU P. LABROSSE
Noutaouynan ca tayen Ouascoupetz.	N'uttauinan, tshir uaskutsh ka taien.
1. Kit--ichenicassóuin sakitaganiouisit.	1. Tshitshituaueritaguanusin tohitishinikasuin
2. Pita Ki--ouitapimacou agoué Kit-outénats	2. He nogusiuane pitta taiats.
3. Pita Kikitouin toutaganiouisit Assitz, ego Ouascouptz.	3. Tshi pamittagauin nete uaskutsh, pitta gaie pamittagauien u-te astshitsh.
4. Mirinan oucachigatz nimitchiminan, ouechté teouch.	4. Anutsh ukashigatsh mirinan ni mitshsmiminan, ineshutsh gaie kashhigatsh mirinan.
5. Gazez chouériméouinan ki maratirinisita agoué, ouechté ni chouerimananet, ca kichiouahiamitz.	5. Nama nigut nititeritenan aueits ka tshi tshishuaiamitjits, eka gaie tshir nigut iteriminan ka tshishiu_aitats.
6. Gayen ega pemitaouinan machicaouintan, espich nekirakiganiouiacou.	6. Eka irinauinan ka ui sagutshihiguiats he iarimatjs.
7. Miatau canoueriminan eapech.	7. Tiaguetsh ui irinikahinan metshikahinan metshikauatjs maskuskamatsi.
Pita.	Egu inusin.

En suivant mot à mot la traduction due au Père Massé, nous arrivons à composer l'Oraison Dominicale de la manière qui suit :

(1) Ce livre, le deuxième imprimé en Canada, est intitulé : *Nehiro-Iriniui Aiamihe Massinahigan, Shatshegutsh, Mitinekapitsh, Iskuamiskutsh, Netshekatsh, Misht', Assinitsh, Shekutimitsh, Ekuanatsh, Ashuabmushuanitsh, Piakuagamitsh*, etc. *Uabistiguiatsh* (Quebec) Broun gaie Gir (l) mor. 1767, 96 pp. in-12.

Notre Père qui es ès Cieux, Ton nom soit en estime. Ainsi soit que nous soyons avec toi en ton Royaume. Ainsi soit que ton commandement soit fait en la Terre, comme au Ciel. Donne nous aujourd'hui notre nourriture, comme toujours. Et aie pitié de nous si nous t'avons offensé, ainsi que nous avons pitié de ceux qui nous ont donné sujet de nous fâcher. Aussi ne nous permets t'offenser, lorsque nous y serons induits. Mais conserve nous toujours. Ainsi soit.

La version du Père La Brosse est bien différente. D'abord il emploie l'*u* au lieu de *ou*. Cette variante n'affecte guère le texte. Mais une autre, plus sensible, se remarque surtout dans le changement du *k* en *tsh*. En réalité, à lire ces deux versions du *Pater*, l'on se croirait en présence de deux langues presque étrangères l'une à l'autre. Pourtant c'est bien du montagnais dans les deux cas. Le Père La Brosse écrit : « Notre Père toi dans le Ciel qui es. Il est fait grand ton nom », etc.

Comme on voit, la différence se trouve surtout dans la manière dont les deux missionnaires ont voulu faire comprendre aux Indiens Montagnais la signification de la sublime Oraison. Cette divergence, si marquée, indique peut-être un progrès dans la langue plutôt qu'une inconsistence dans la manière de la parler. D'autres exemples analogues surgissent en foule dans chacune des versions que nous apportent les dialectes congénères à l'algonquin-montagnais, comme le chippewa, le malécite, le cris, avec leurs multiples transformations.

L'on remarque toutefois que les traductions les plus anciennes, bien qu'elles soient moins correctes que les modernes, servent à établir que l'Indien tient plus à sa langue qu'on ne le pourrait croire généralement. Sans doute les différents idiomes n'ont pas été à l'abri des mouvements de croissance ou de déclin qui sont appréciables ailleurs que dans les solitudes des forêts américaines. Rien d'étonnant que dans le cours des siècles, des mots vieillis soient disparus ou que d'anciennes locutions aient été emportées avec les générations. Comment ces peuples auraient-ils pu résister au contact des influences étrangères et ennemies, à l'isolement, aux migrations fréquentes, au morcellement des tribus, à l'absorption même de nombreuses familles parlant un langage à part.

Que l'on prenne pour exemple la grande famille algonquine,

qui étendait jadis des rameaux vigoureux dans les coins les plus reculés de l'Amérique Septentrionale, et que l'on confronte les dialectes particuliers à chacune des nombreuses tribus qui la composaient. Comparons le micmac de l'ancienne Acadie avec le chippewa de Mississauga, le malécite du bas du fleuve Saint-Laurent avec le cris de la Rivière-Rouge, et nous retrouvons chez tous un air de famille qui étonne l'indianalogue. Les variantes seraient peut-être encore moins nombreuses, si le même homme pouvait reproduire dans des livres les dialectes qu'il a lui-même entendus dans un court espace de temps. Mais, comment peut-on raisonner sur ces langues, dont la connaissance ne nous est parvenue qu'à des intervalles souvent très éloignés, par l'intermédiaire de manuscrits ou de volumes dont l'impression a été négligée. Si le montagnais du Père Massé nous est connu depuis 1632 (1), si le micmac a trouvé un imprimeur dès 1719 par l'entremise de La Croze (2), il ne faut pas oublier que le cris ne nous a été révélé qu'en 1857 par le Grand-Vicaire Thibault (3). Combien d'autres dialectes congénères à l'algonquin sont ignorés du monde des linguistes?

Les Américanistes ont un vaste champ ouvert à leur ambition. L'étude des langues orientales a sans doute un grand attrait pour les savants européens. Mais s'ils dirigeaient leurs travaux philologiques vers l'ancienne colonie de la France, qui renferme encore un groupe de plus de 100,000 sauvages, ils rendraient peut-être de plus grands services à l'humanité, en facilitant la civilisation de beaucoup de ces peuplades, qui restent plongées dans les ténèbres du paganisme, à défaut d'un missionnaire parlant leur langage.

(1) Dans les *Voyages* de Champlain, édition de 1632.

(2) *Thesaurus Epistol. Lacrozianus*, Vol. 1, p. 44.

(3) *Prières, Cantiques, etc*, en *Langue Crise, Agamie Neiyaome Masinaïkan.* Montréal, 1857.

Note sur la langue des Dénés

PAR LE R. P. LEGOFF, O. M. I.

Les Déné et Déné dendjié forment une race divisée en une multitude de tribus répandues sur des milliers de lieues carrées. Chaque tribu a son idiome. Ces idiomes ou dialectes ont, sans nul doute, la même origine, ou plutôt ce sont des variantes de la vieille langue Déné qui dut être autrefois l'idiome national. Cette vieille langue existe-t-elle encore? Oui, répondent les montagnais ou tchippeweyans, et c'est la langue que nous parlons. Peut-être ont-ils raison. Ce qui rend pour moi leur prétention plausible, c'est que les Déné, parlant d'autres dialectes, comprennent généralement, et, comme naturellement, le montagnais, tandis que les montagnais ne comprennent pas leurs dialectes.

Les divergences entre les divers dialectes de cette langue, sont très accentuées sans doute ; cependant on retrouve encore facilement entre eux les liens de paren[illegible]. Mêmes racines modifiées suivant le génie de chaque dialec[illegible]êmes procédés d'agglutination ou d'agrégation [illegible]ans la f[illegible]tion des mots ; mêmes tournures de phrases.

L'une des principales caractéristiques de la langue Déné, c'est le rôle joué par les consonnes. Elles sont des forces, des moteurs ; elles forment comme la charpente, et sont comme le nerf de la langue. Les voyelles sont les moyens qui mettent en jeu ces forces, ces moteurs, ou les modifient. Parmi ces consonnes, ou, doubles-consonnes, plusieurs ont entre elles des affinités, c-a-d. qu'elles peuvent, dans le même ordre de mots, s'employer les unes pour les autres.

Consonnes affines entr'elles : B. P. N.

', 'g, 'k, p, 't — E'tous'e, je veux porte ce fardeau. – E'tewoun*p*e, porte le.
napes'gi'l, je m'en vais avec ce fardeau. Na'*t*ewoun*p*in, emporte le.

D, t, n, nd, H, zh, dzh { 'achididzher, nous sommes rassasiés (duel)
'achidi*ddé*, nous sommes rassasiés (pluriel)

S, z, ds, dz : ne*ss*on, je suis bon ; nin*s*on, tu es bon ; ni*dz*on, nous sommes bons.

Ch, y, dy : nes*ch*ié, je grandis ; nin*y*é, tu grandis ; nezhid*y*é, nous grandissons.

Plusieurs de ces consonnes ou doubles-consonnes jouissent, en outre, de la double puissance d'exprimer un ordre d'idées, de désigner un ordre d'êtres, et la contradiction de ce même ordre d'idées et d'êtres. Mais comme je me suis étendu un peu là dessus dans ma grammaire, je ne veux pas y insister ici.

On divise généralement les langues 1° en monosyllabiques, 2° agglutinées, ou, juxtaposées, 3° polysynthétiques, 4° et enfin en langues inflectées. La langue *dénè* n'appartient exclusivement à aucune de ces catégories, mais possède des caractères propres à toutes.

La plupart de ses racines, pour ne pas dire toutes, sont monosyllabiques. Et elle en a une multitude. Ce sont les mots simples ou primitifs ; et ces mots sont ou des noms, ou des adverbes, ou des postpositions, ou des conjonctions, ou des interjections.

Ces mots simples, au possessif, sont toujours considérés comme mots simples, quoiqu'ils soient alors modifiés par quelque particule qui les précède ou les suit.

Ex : Kon, lieu. — Kon-en, lieu habité, maison. — se Kon-en, ma maison.

Sa, montre, horloge — Se-za-e, ma montre. — Tssa, chapeau — Se-tssa-ha, mon chapeau.

En, nen, é, yé, pé, a, ha placés, à la fin d'un nom, marquent toujours le possessif.

Les mots composés sont des combinaisons formées par la jonction de deux ou plusieurs mots, ou racines auxquels s'ajoutent ou se mêlent souvent certaines particules. Et si ces mots composés sont des noms, des adverbes ou des postpositions, ils se forment, sans aucun lien, par agglutination, leurs divers éléments conservant leur individualité, leur intégrité, leur originalité respectives. Ex : ye-ho-ban-ne'lttchyanen. — *yé*,

maison, *ho*, sa ; ban, autour ; ne'lttchyanen, clôture, clôture de maison. ye-ho-la-yé. - *yé*, maison ; *ho*, son ; *la*, faite ; *yé*, signe du possessif, faite d'une maison.

S'il s'agit, au contraire, de verbes composés, les divers éléments qui entrent dans leur composition, n'y conservent pas toujours leur pleine intégrité. Souvent quelques uns de ces éléments y apparaissent tronqués. Quelquefois même un mot de plusieurs lettres n'y est représenté que par une lettre. Ex : kké-na-n-ousdé, pour : edekke-na-n-ousdé. *Edé*, moi-même ; k*k*é, sur ; *na*, l'acte raisonnable, délibéré ; *n*, visage, de *innen* qui veut dire visage ; *ous*dé, je veux me laver le visage. o'tiyé kolou édé-kké-na-*n*-in'lde, lave-toi bien. Autre exemple : népan-yéni-o-dès-cha*né*, à toi ; pa*n*, par rapport ; yé*n*i, mon esprit ; *dès*, élément pronominal et conjugable, tendent à signifier faire : *cha*, grand, de netcha, ou, odintcha qui signifient grand ; par rapport à toi j'agrandis mon esprit, je t'admire. Ainsi l'*n* souligné dans le premier exemple représente *innen*, le visage. *Cha* dans le second exemple représente *netcha*, ou, *odintcha*.

Une racine, précédée des éléments pronominaux, forme ce qu'on appelle le verbe simple. Que l'on me permette d'ajouter qu'il n'est pas vrai de dire, en général, comme l'a fait le Père Pétitot, dans l'avant-propos de son dictionnaire, que cette racine ou radical, qui termine le verbe, n'est susceptible d'aucune flexion. Pour quelques verbes il en est ainsi ; mais dans un grand nombre d'autres, par exemple, dans les verbes de gisement, de repos, de station, de cubation, de transport, de dépôt, dans les verbes à mouvements, etc., ce radical qui termine le verbe, est essentiellement variable. Ex : tssel-'*tin*, un corps repose là, (une tombe) - Tssel-*la*, des corps reposent là, (un cimetière) --Ex : Tes-'*ti*, je l'emporte (un homme) 'tous-'*tè* je vais l'emporter. Ex : shiad*da*, je m'assieds. Shi-'*ké*, nous nous asseyons (duel). De-Zhil-*tthi*, nous nous asseyons (pluriel.)

La fabrique des verbes composés, ou polysynthétiques n'a rien de bien compliqué ; les divers éléments qui les composent, affixes et postpositions, s'y incorporent dans leur ordre naturel, le plus souvent sans aucun lien, par simple juxtaposition, quelquefois reliés entre eux par quelque connective, lorsque l'euphonie le demande. Tous ces éléments, sauf l'élément pronominal ou flexion verbale, et la désinence du verbe

qui est une racine ordinairement monosyllabique, demeurent invariables, conservant leur individualité, leur originalité propre, et, contribuent chacun pour sa part à la signification du verbe.

Les deux seuls éléments, qui appellent sérieusement l'attention, sont la flexion verbale, et le radical qui termine le verbe, et qui est sujet à beaucoup de mutations, suivant les conjugaisons.

Dans ces conjugaisons point de cheville, d'élément inutile. Chaque élément a son rôle, sa part dans la signification du verbe. Ex : né-pan-yéni-pi-'tan ; *né*, avec toi ; p*a*n, en rapport : y*én*i, mon esprit ou mon cœur ; *p*i, flexion verbale, 1ère personne du passé ; 't*a*n, radical, au passé, des verbes gésir, porter, déposer, mettre, appliquer, fixer, etc. J'ai mis mon cœur en rapport avec toi, je t'aime.

Autre exemple : « an-nes-'gin. « *An*, retour chez soi ; nes, de ninestya, je suis arrivé ; '*gin*, racine signifiant porter à dos. Je suis arrivé chez moi avec un fardeau sur le dos. Au pluriel, on abandonnerait la forme régulière, et l'on dirait, par exemple, à la première personne : « an-ttchyè-'e'l-é-nildel. En analysant, nous avons : « *an*, retour chez soi ; ttc*h*yè, marquant la position du fardeau sur le dos ; '*e'l*, fardeau, *é*, connective i n*ild*el, nous les avons *venus*, transitif de niniddel, nous sommes venus. Nous sommes arrivés chez nous avec des fardeaux sur le dos.

Comme toutes les langues américaines, la langue *déné* est un langage de verbes. Seulement, tandis que toutes les autres possèdent un système de conjugaisons parfaitement régulier, tous les verbes de même classe pouvant se conjuguer exactement les uns sur les autres, dans la langue *déné* très peu de verbes peuvent se conjuguer exactement les uns sur les autres. Vous trouverez dans chaque classe des conjugaisons semblables en leurs flexions verbales ; mais ces mêmes conjugaisons en leurs flexions verbales, ne le seront pas de tous points dans leurs terminaisons. Vous en trouverez d'autres parfaitement conformes dans leurs terminaisons, mais différant dans leurs flexions verbales.

Ce défaut de régularité, d'uniformité déconcerte, au premier abord. Cependant, en considérant, d'autre part, la brièveté de ces conjugaisons, l'uniformité de leur marche, la simplicité de

leur mécanisme, l'on ne tarde pas à se rassurer un peu, et à voir qu'il y a compensation.

D'ordinaire, en effet, dans les verbes montagnais, verbes adjectifs ou autres, il n'y a que trois temps proprement conjugables : le présent, le passé et le futur, les autres temps et modes du verbe se forment de ces trois temps-là, au moyen de certaines formes adverbiales de temps, de certaines particules conditionnelles et dubitatives d'un usage facile, et les mêmes pour tous les verbes. De cette brièveté, et de cette simplicité de mécanisme il résulte que dès lors que l'on connaît une vingtaine de ces conjugaisons, l'on connait par là même à demi toutes les autres.

Une difficulté qui n'embarrasse pas peu le profane qui veut s'initier aux secrets de la langue déné, c'est la faculté qu'ont beaucoup de mots de présenter deux sens contradictoires. Ex : Eti, oute, être foncièrement bon, doux, patient, serviable. Sèti, nèti, bèti, je sais, tu es, il est doux, serviable. — Soûte ille, noûte ille, hoûte ille, je suis, tu es, il est doux, serviable. La négation *ille* ici, par je ne sais quelle originalité de langage, ne change pas, comme l'on voit le sens du mot outé. — Etsseouninni hoûte ille, il est doux, patient, aime beaucoup à rendre service. — Nou'oûte ille, nou'adaroudda ille, nous ne sommes pas patients,qu'on nous laisse tranquilles. Ici, au contraire, comme vous voyez, la négation *ille* reprend toute sa force : nous ne sommes pas patients, qu'on nous laisse tranquilles.

Autre exemple : ouzèdlann, ou, tssoudedlann signifie croire et aussi douter, et, par conséquent, ne pas croire. Ainsi, noudesdlann ille signifie : je ne doute pas de ta parole, je te crois, comme il pourra signifier aussi : je doute de ta parole, je ne te crois pas, selon les circonstances. Sans doute, dans la circonstance, ce sera le tour de la conversation, l'intonation du mot qui déterminera le sens de ce mot. Malheureusement, cette différence d'intonation, étant parfois très légère, demeure souvent et longtemps insaisissable à l'oreille du pauvre profane. Et quant au tour du langage, de la conversation, il parait souvent si subtil qu'il échappe par là même à qui n'est pas initié à toutes les finesses du langage. Et alors qu'arrive-t-il? On fait des quiproquos.

Dans l'avant-propos placé à la tête de son dictionnaire, le

Père Pétitot, à qui je me plais à rendre cette justice, qu'à côté d'observations qui appellent quelque réserve, il y en présente beaucoup d'autres souvent justes, toujours ingénieuses, se livrant à une sorte d'étude comparée de diverses langues, trouve des points d'analogie, de rapprochement entre la langue *déné* et diverses autres langues américaines, ainsi que l'hébreu, le sanscrit, le syriaque, le chinois, le grec, le latin, le celtique, etc. Je n'ai pas compétence pour me prononcer sur l'exactitude de tous les points d'analogie qu'il cite avec toutes ces langues. Mais quant aux quelques rapprochements qu'il établit avec le latin, rien n'est plus exact.

Pour le celtique, je puis le compléter un peu. Il cite le mot *'ta*, *'tape*, trois, se rapprochant du mot celtique *tri* qui veut dire aussi : trois. Mais il n'y a pas que cela : *'tou*, eau, en déné, *dour*, eau, en celtique ; *'gu*, lièvre, en déné, *gad*, lièvre, en celtique : déné, homme, en déné, dén, homme, en celtique ; *tssoutonn*, *ou'tonn*, saisir avec la main, en déné, *dorn*, main, en celtique ; *layé*, le haut, en haut, en déné, *laë*, en haut, en celtique ; *'ta*, père, en déné, *tad*, père, en celtique : *'an*, mère, en déné, *mam*, mère, en celtique ; impraticable, en parlant, v. g. d'un chemin tracé dans le sable et où l'on passe difficilement ; qui ne marche pas, en parlant, v. g., d'un engrenage encrassé ; qui ne passe pas, en parlant, v. g., de quelque chose qui s'avale difficilement, se traduisent en dené, par *denna*, et, en celtique, par tenn. Ex : diri 'tounlsu *denna* lan ! quel chemin impraticable, fatiguant ! — nag ez éo *tenn* an hent ma ! quel chemin impraticable, fatiguant ! Mais les deux expressions qui me frappent le plus par leur analogie, presque par leur identité, ce sont : *tta*, *itta*, en déné, et *ta*, en celtique, qui s'emploient l'une et l'autre, à tout bout de champ, dans la conversation et ont absolument le même sens. Ex : Edlaonthe *tta ?* Comment donc ? Pénaos *ta*, comment donc ? Voilà des rapprochements que l'on ne me reprochera pas, je l'espère, d'avoir forcés. Il y a là une dizaine d'expressions de chacune des langues, montagnaise et celtique ; et il me semble qu'à force de chercher j'en pourrais trouver d'autres. Ces expressions ont dans l'une et l'autre langue respectivement même signification. Et ces expressions légèrement modifiées par le temps et le génie de chaque langue, ont conservé un tel air d'identité qu'il n'y a pas à s'y méprendre.

Qu'en conclure? sinon qu'à moins de soutenir que ces coïncidences de langage soient le pur fruit du hasard, ce qui me parait absolument absurde, il faut admettre que les deux races montagnaise et celtique auront emprunté ces mots à quelque vieille langue, peut-être à la vieille langue primitive, et ont dû les prononcer, à l'origine, de la même manière. Egalement, serait-ce forcer la logique que de supposer que deux races qui ont dans leur langage tant de mots communs et si bien conservés, ont dû, dans des temps plus ou moins reculés, avoir entre elles des accointances, peut-être même vivre, pendant des années et même des siècles, plus ou moins mêlées entre elles sur un autre continent?

Le génie de la langue Algonquine

PAR LE R. P. LEMOINE, O. M. I.

L'Algonquin, dont il sera ici question, est pour le moins une *langue sœur* du Montagnais du Labrador, du Tête-de-boule du St-Maurice, du Cris de la Baie d'Hudson, de l'Odjibwe et d'autres dialectes sauvages de l'Ouest canadien. J'ai dit *pour le moins une langue sœur;* car d'aucuns prétendent qu'il est même la *langue mère* de ces derniers, ce que je n'entreprends pas de vérifier. Je n'ai pas non plus l'intention de décider si toutes mes remarques dans ce travail s'appliquent aussi bien à ces dialectes qu'à l'Algonquin. Je me borne, dans ces quelques lignes, à traiter exclusivement de l'Algonquin, sans m'occuper de ce qu'il a de commun avec d'autres langues sauvages.

L'Algonquin est parlé au Lac des Deux-Montagnes, à Maniwaki et autres endroits de la Gatineau, ainsi qu'aux lacs Barrière, Victoria, Temiskaming et Abittibi, au Grassy Lake, au Golden Lake et à Mattawa d'une manière passablement uniforme ; ailleurs il se confond plus ou moins avec les dialectes mentionnés plus haut.

Bien diverses sont les impressions des étrangers sur la conformation de cette langue. Aux uns elle apparait comme une collection de mots extraordinairement longs ; d'autres en font une langue à peu près monosyllabique. Disons tout de suite que tous ont une fausse opinion de l'Algonquin. La longueur des mots n'est qu'apparente ; les mots élémentaires, des racines autres, sont aussi courts qu'en français ; ce sont les dérivés et composés qui donnent à l'Algonquin une apparence quelque peu barbare. Avouons cependant que ces derniers sont nécessaires pour bien parler cette langue, et qu'un étudiant algonquin doit se résoudre à prononcer quelquefois des mots de huit à dix syllabes.

La seconde opinion sur la configuration de l'Algonquin est

celle de certains auteurs qui s'aventurent de parler de nos langues sauvages d'après quelques documents on ne peut plus incomplets et inexacts, de prétendus savants de divers pays, notamment du Canada et des Etats-Unis d'Amérique, lesquels voudraient donner à d'autres des connaissances de linguistique Indianalogue qu'ils ne possèdent pas eux-mêmes. Ces auteurs, ne comprenant pas assez les langues dont ils parlent pour savoir où commence et où finit le mot qu'ils ont à transcrire, ont adopté une méthode assez singulière pour se tirer d'affaire, celle d'en séparer toutes les syllabes sans exception, laissant à d'autres plus instruits qu'eux sur ces langues le soin de mettre ensemble des syllabes qui n'auraient jamais dû être séparées.

Cette opinion sur le monosyllabisme de l'Algonquin peut aussi provenir de la coutume des sauvages de séparer toutes les syllabes d'un mot lorsqu'ils écrivent ; habitude qu'ils contractent par suite de leur manque d'instruction et de la plus grande facilité qu'ils s'imaginent trouver à se lire.

Les sons en usage dans l'Algonquin sont plutôt français qu'anglais ou que tout autres. Voilà pourquoi l'orthographe française est la plus propre à la reproduction des mots de cette langue sauvage. Tous ces sons peuvent être représentés par dix-sept lettres qui sont : *a b d e g h i j k m n o p s t w z*. La plupart des auteurs cependant y ajoutent le *c* pour rendre le *ch* français ou *sh* anglais.

Considéré au point de vue phonétique l'Algonquin est moins rude que l'Esquimaud et autres langues sauvages du nord de l'Amérique, sans toutefois mériter à la lettre les éloges que lui ont prodigués le bon vieux Montaigne et l'Indianologue Le Hir qui, eux, parlent en général des langues sauvages de l'Amérique Septentrionale. Sous ce rapport le Montagnais du Labrador et l'Odjibwe du Manitoba l'emportent certainement sur l'Algonquin pour avoir retranché en partie le son guttural par trop commun de celui-ci.

Pour en finir avec ces remarques générales je dirai que l'Algonquin, au point de vue phonétique, peut paraître barbare à côté du français, mais qu'il ne lui cède en rien sous le rapport philologique, comme cette petite étude va nous en convaincre.

La grammaire Algonquine comprend neuf Parties du Discours : le Nom, l'Adjectif, le Pronom, le Verbe, la Parti-

cule Verbale, la Proposition, l'Adverbe, la Conjonction et l'Interjection. Comme on le voit, l'Article et le Participe manquent à la liste ordinaire de nos grammaires, et une nouvelle Partie du Discours y est introduite, la *Particule Verbale.* L'Article n'existe en aucune manière en Algonquin, et le Participe n'y figure que comme une forme particulière de subjonctif, comme nous le verrons au chapitre des conjugaisons.

I. DU NOM :

Les Substantifs proprement dits sont très limités comparativement à d'autres Parties du Discours de l'Algonquin. Cependant on peut dire qu'ils sont nombreux eu égard au nombre d'objets mis par le Créateur à la disposition des sauvages. En général, ils sont restreints à la désignation de personnes, animaux et choses concrètes. Ce n'est que par exception que des Substantifs de choses abstraites viennent en usage. Les missionnaires ont dû, de temps à autre, recourir à ceux-ci pour parler de religion ; mais les Algonquins préfèrent à ces nouvelles formes des locutions verbales plus en rapport avec leur tournure d'esprit. Ainsi au lieu de dire comme nous *blancheur, laideur*, ces gens des bois diront : *Lorsque c'est blanc, lorsque c'est laid.* Avec ces formes verbales ils pourront rendre à peu près tous les concepts de l'intelligence sans recourir aux grands mots que certains Indianalogues voudraient leur imposer.

J'ai dit que les substantifs sont cependant nombreux si l'on tient compte du petit nombre d'objets à la disposition des sauvages. Prenons, par exemple, le mot *perche.* Dans le sens de *gaule* il se traduira de telle manière, puis différemment dans le sens de *bâton*, différemment encore dans le sens *d'instrument pour pousser le canot*, différemment enfin dans le sens de *support de cabane ;* et, dans ce dernier cas, il exigera autant de termes différents qu'il y a de sortes de ces *supports* dans la construction du logis en question. Il en est ainsi de tous les substantifs désignant des choses dont les sauvages font une spécialité, des choses qui sont à proprement parler de leur ressort.

(1) CLASSES DE NOMS :

Les substantifs Algonquins se divisent en deux grandes

classes, suivant qu'ils désignent des êtres du *genre animé* ou des choses du *genre inanimé*. A la première se rattache tout ce qui a vie animale ou qui a un prix spécial aux yeux des sauvages. Ainsi, non seulement un *homme*, un *cerf* seront du *genre animé*, mais aussi les arbres, certains fruits, les croix, les chapelets, le tonnerre, la glace, la neige, les astres, les peaux, les pipes, etc.

La seconde classe comprend tout ce qui est dépourvu de vie animale ou de valeur particulière dans l'estimation des sauvages. D'après cette règle, un bateau à vapeur et un canon devront se contenter de cette seconde classe, tandis qu'un aviron et un arc auront les honneurs de la première.

(2) NOMBRE DANS LES NOMS :

Les substantifs ont trois Nombres en Algonquin : le Singulier, le Pluriel *exclusif* et le Pluriel *inclusif*. Par ces mots *pluriel exclusif* et *inclusif* il faut entendre le Pluriel suivant que le Substantif a rapport à la première et à la troisième personne seulement à l'exclusion de la deuxième, ou bien qu'il se rapporte aussi à la deuxième inclusivement. Par exemple, *notre cabane*, à vous et à nous : voilà un Pluriel *inclusif ; notre cabane*, à lui et à moi : voilà un Pluriel *exclusif*. Il n'entre pas dans mon plan d'indiquer toutes les règles relatives à la formation de ces Nombres. Soit dit en général que *k* marque le Pluriel dans les Substantifs du *genre animé*, et *n* dans ceux du *genre inanimé*.

(3) CAS DANS LES NOMS :

Outre l'Espèce et le Nombre il y a encore la distinction des Cas à considérer dans le Substantif Algonquin. On peut distinguer jusqu'à treize *cas* ou *manières d'être* du Substantif à raison de telle ou telle circonstance : le Nominatif, le Vocatif, l'Obviatif, le Surobviatif, le Possessif, le Locatif, le Diminutif, le Détérioratif, l'Ultra-détérioratif, l'Investigatif, le Dubitatif, le Passé Prochain et le Passé Éloigné. Comme on le voit, le Nominatif et le Vocatif seuls sont communs à nos grammaires grecques et latines ; et, comme on va le voir, le Vocatif seul est identique à celui de ces grammaires.

Le Nominatif est la forme la plus simple d'un Substantif, et c'est de lui que sont tirés les autres Cas. Il s'étend bien plus

loin que le Nominatif des Latins, comme on peut s'en convaincre par ces exemples : Kije Manito sakihigosi, Deus est amabilis ; Kije Manito okijewatisiwin, Dei bonitas ; ni windamawa Kije Manito, confiteor Deo ; ni sakiha Kije Manito, amo Deum ; ni sakihik Kije Manito, amor à Deo. Dans tous ces exemples c'est partout la même forme du Nominatif Algonquin, et à lui seul il représente les cinq Cas des phrases latines.

Le Vocatif est le cas d'un substantif désignant un être auquel on adresse la parole. Au Singulier il est presque toujours semblable au Nominatif ; mais au Pluriel il en diffère ordinairement et se termine par *tok*, *otok* ou *itok*, qu'on ajoute au Nominatif Singulier, suivant que celui-ci se termine par une voyelle, par *g*, *k*, *z*, ou par une autre consonne. Ainsi ces mots *ockinawe* jeune homme, *amik* castor, *monz* orignal, et *nidjanis* enfant, deviendront au Vocatif Pluriel *ockinawetok*, *amikotok*, *monzotok* et *nidjanisitok*.

L'Obviatif est le concours, dans une même phrase, de deux troisièmes Personnes du genre animé, l'une dépendant de l'autre ou recevant d'elle une impression quelconque. Dans ce cas, le Substantif se rapportant à la Personne ainsi dépendante prendra la marque de l'Obviatif, c'est-à-dire *n*, *on*, ou, *an*, suivant qu'il est terminé par une voyelle *g*, *k*, *z*, ou par une autre consonne. Par exemple pour rendre *Pierre aime Dieu, le fils de Paul*, il faudra mettre *Pierre* et *Paul* au Nominatif, puis *Dieu* et *fils* à l'Obviatif.

Le Surobviatif est la rencontre de trois troisièmes Personnes, dont une du genre animé et *sujet* de la phrase, une autre du genre animé ou inanimé et *régime* immédiat de la phrase, enfin une troisième du genre animé et qui *domine* la Personne régime. Dans ce cas la Personne régime *dominée* se met au Surobviatif, et si le nom de la Personne *dominante* se trouve exprimée, on le met à l'Obviatif simple. La marque du Surobviatif est *ni*, *oni*, *ini*, suivant la terminaison du Substantif. Ainsi, si l'on veut dire : *Pierre* frappe le fils du sauvage, on mettra *fils* au Surobviatif, et *sauvage* à l'Obviatif simple.

Le Possessif est le cas d'un Substantif joint à l'Adjectif Possessif. Alors ce Substantif est dit *se conjuguer* ou *se décliner*, peu importe le terme employé pour désigner les modifications que lui fait subir la série des Adjectifs Possessifs : *ni* mon, ma mes, notre, nos ; *ki* ton, ta, tes, notre inclusif, votre, nos, vos ;

o ou *wi* son, sa, ses, leur, leurs. La marque du Possessif est *m*, *om* ou *im*, suivant la terminaison du mot, pour les noms d'êtres qui tiennent leur mode d'existence du Créateur ; aucune n'est employée pour les noms d'êtres qui le tiennent de l'homme. Le Possessif est, en quelque sorte, un substitut du Génitif. Ainsi pour rendre *filius Petri* on dira *Pien okwisisan*, Pierre son fils.

Le Locatif est le cas d'un Substantif indiquant l'*endroit où*. Il sert à exprimer nos prépositions *à*, *de*, *par*, *en*, *dans* et *sur*, suivant la signification du Verbe qu'il accompagne, et il se forme en ajoutant au Substantif *ng*, *ong* ou *ing*. Ainsi, de *nipi* eau, *akik* chaudière, *asin* pierre, on fera *niping* dans l'eau, *akikong* dans la chaudière, *asining* sur la pierre.

Le Locatif sert encore à rendre les locutions adverbiales *ainsi que*, *en guise de*, *à l'instar de*, *à la façon de* etc. Par exemple *être habillé en homme*, *vivre en animal* etc. se rendront en faisant accompagner le Verbe du Substantif mis au Locatif.

Le Diminutif se rend dans les Noms en y ajoutant *s*, *ns*, *ons* ou *ins* suivant leur terminaison. Ainsi, au Diminutif *inini* homme, *akik* chaudière, *asin* pierre deviendront *ininins* petit homme, *akikons* petite chaudière, et *asinins* petite pierre.

Le Détérioratif se forme en ajoutant au Substantif *c*, *oc* ou *ic* suivant la terminaison de celui-ci. D'après cette règle, *nipi* eau, *amik* castor, *tesapiwagan* siége deviendront *nipic* méchante eau, *amikoc* vilain castor, et *tesapiwaganic* siége bon à rien.

Pour l'Ultra-détérioratif on ajoutera *ic* au Détérioratif primitif. Par exemple, si l'on veut exprimer *très méchante* eau etc, on dira *nipicic* etc.

L'Investigatif est le cas d'un Substantif précédé d'une des particules interrogatives *qui*, *quel*, *quelle*, *quels* et *quelles*. *Nen* est la caractéristique de ce Cas pour le Singulier, et *nenak* pour le Pluriel. Ainsi, de *anicinabe* sauvage on formera *awenen anicinabenen*, *awenenak anicinabenak*, quel sauvage, quels sauvages ?

Le Dubitatif a pour caractéristique *tok* que l'on ajoute au Substantif. Par exemple, *makwa* ours, *makwatok* c'est peut-être un ours.

Le Passé Prochain dans un Nom est indiqué par *ban*, et veut dire que la personne ou la chose dont on parle et avec laquelle on a eu des relations n'existe plus, soit en

elle-même, soit par rapport à nous. Ainsi, *Xabieban* voudra dire *défunt Xavier*, *ni mokumaniban*, mon couteau d'autrefois.

Le Passé Eloigné a pour marque *goban*, et indique que la personne ou la chose dont nous parlons est d'une époque antérieure à la nôtre, ou qu'elle ne nous est pas contemporaine, ou bien qu'elle n'a jamais été connue de nous, ou encore que nous en avons perdu le souvenir. Ainsi, *Pienigoban* voudra dire *Pierre d'autrefois*, Pierre que je n'ai jamais connu, Pierre dont j'ai perdu le souvenir.

Avec ces notions sur l'*Espèce*, le *Nombre* et les *Cas* des Noms, on peut se faire une bonne idée de ce qu'est la première partie du Discours en Algonquin, sans crainte d'ignorer quelque chose qui s'y rapporterait essentiellement.

II. DE L'ADJECTIF :

L'Algonquin possède cinq sortes d'Adjectifs : le Qualificatif, le Démonstratif, le Possessif, l'Indéfini et le Numéral. Trois seulement méritent notre attention ici car les Adjectifs Démonstratif et Possessif se rendent par les mêmes termes que les Pronoms Démonstratif et Personnel, que nous verrons plus loin.

Il y a très peu d'Adjectifs Qualificatifs en Algonquin. En voici la liste à peu près complète : *mino* bon, *matci* mauvais ; *mici* gros ; *kitci* ou *kije* grand ; *kwenatc* joli *kitcitiwa* saint ; *maia* principal ; *maiak* étranger ; *maiata* blâmable ; *ocki* neuf ; *kete* ancien ; *inin* vrai ; par excellence ; *picicik* sec, pur, sans mélange ; *nicike* seul ; *ickwaiatc* dernier ; *nabe* mâle, masculin ; *nonje* féminin. Ces Adjectifs sont invariables et tous, à part *nicike* seul, se placent avant le Nom. Vu le petit nombre d'Adjectifs Qualificatifs les Algonquins se voient forcés d'y suppléer par l'emploi du Passé Prochain et du Passé Eloigné et autres Accidents dont nous avons parlé ; mais leur ressource ordinaire est dans la prodigieuse quantité de leurs Verbes, comme nous allons voir bientôt.

Les Adjectifs Indéfinis sont *neningo*, *mecagwan*, chaque ; *kotak* autre ; *kakina* tout, toute, tous, toutes ; *nibina* beaucoup ; *nanint* quelques.

L'Adjectif Numéral est double, en Algonquin comme dans nos langues, le Cardinal et l'Ordinal, et mérite au moins un moment de considération.

L'Adjectif Cardinal est composé originairement des sept mots racines *pejik* un, *nij* deux, *niswi* trois, *new* quatre, *nanan* cinq, *cangaswi* neuf et *mitaswi* dix. Tous les autres nombres sont des mots composés de ceux-ci. A partir de onze jusqu'à dix-neuf inclusivement, les Algonquins disent *mitaswi acite pejik* etc., dix plus un etc. Les dizaines à partir de *vingt* se rendent par un composé de *tana* et du Numéral exprimant le nombre de ces dizaines. Ainsi *vingt* se dit *nictana* deux dizaines, *trente nisomitana* trois dizaines, etc. — Ensuite il faut ajouter qu'en général les unités, les dizaines, les centaines, les mille et les millions se joignent par *acite*. Par exemple ; *vingt-et-un*, *nictana acite pejik*. Autre particularité, la terminaison des primitifs varie suivant le Substantif que le Numéral désigne. Ainsi, si ce numéral se rapporte à un nom de *mesure*, on le fait terminer en *o* ; s'il désigne un nom de chose du genre *minéral*, on lui donne la terminaison *watik ;* s'il détermine un nom de chose appartenant au règne *végétal* ou ayant une forme *allongée*, il prend la terminaison *watik* ; puis la terminaison *ominak* lorsqu'il désigne des noms de *graines*, *fruits* ou choses en forme de *boule* ; enfin la terminaison *wek* s'il se rapporte à des noms de *vêtement*, *linge* ou de choses *flexibles*. D'après ces règles on dira : *niswi anicinabek*, trois hommes ; *niso kon*, trois jours ; *niswabik asinin*, trois pierres ; *niswatik mitikok*, trois arbres ; *nisominak wabaminak*, trois pommes ; *niswek wabowaianan*, trois couvertes. - Enfin il faut dire que tous les Adjectifs Cardinaux se verbifient. Ainsi, *être un*, *être deux* etc. sont autant de verbes soumis aux règles des conjugaisons ordinaires.

L'Adjectif Ordinal n'a qu'une forme à lui propre, *nitam* premier ; toutes les autres sont empruntées au verbe qu'on fait précéder de la particule *eko* et qu'on met au subjonctif. Ainsi, le *troisième* etc., se disent *eko nisiwate* etc.

III. — DU PRONOM :

Il y a six espèces de Pronoms en Algonquin : le Personnel, le Possessif, le Démonstratif, l'Interrogatif, le Relatif et l'Indéfini.

Les Pronoms Personnels sont de deux sortes : Premièrement, les Préfixes, lesquels sont toujours unis au Verbe dont ils

déterminent la personne, ou au Substantif auprès desquels ils servent d'Adjectifs Possessifs. Les voici avec leur signification : *ni* je, nous, mon, ma, mes, notre, nos ; *ki* tu, vous, nous *inclusif*, ton, ta, tes, votre, vos, notre *inclusif*, nos *inclusif ; o*, *ot* ou *wi* il, elle, ils, elles, son, sa, ses, leur, leurs. — Secondement, les Pronoms Personnels Isolés, qui sont séparés du Verbe par un préfixe, et agissent à l'occasion comme Pronoms Possessifs. Ce sont : *nin* moi, le mien, la mienne, les miens, les miennes ; *kin* toi, le tien, la tienne, les tiens, les tiennes ; *win* lui, elle, le sien, la sienne, les siens, les siennes ; *ninawint* nous autres *exclusif*, le nôtre, la nôtre, les nôtres ; *kinawint* nous autres *inclusif*, le nôtre, la nôtre, les nôtres ; *kinawa* vous autres, le vôtre, la vôtre, les vôtres ; *winawa* eux, elles, le leur, la leur, les leurs.

Les Pronoms Démonstratifs en Algonquin sont employés comme Pronoms et Adjectifs. Les voici avec leur signification :

Pour le *genre animé ; aam* celui-ci, celle-ci ; *iaam* celui-là, celle-là ; *okom* ceux-ci, celles-ci ; *ikim*, ceux-là, celles-là. Pour le *genre inanimé ; oom* celui-ci, celle-ci, ceci ; *iim* celui-là, celle-là, cela ; *onom*, ceux-ci, celles-ci ; *inim* ceux-là, celles-là. Dans les expressions *ces hommes-ci, ceux-ci, cette cabane-là, cela*, on emploiera toujours le Pronom Démonstratif avec ou sans le nom.

Le Pronom Relatif Algonquin se réduit à *ka* qui correspond à *qui, que, lequel, laquelle, lesquels, lesquelles, duquel, desquels, desquelles* et *dont*. Et encore la coutume prévaut-elle aujourd'hui de remplacer cette unique forme pronominale Relative par une sorte de phrase Subjonctive que certains auteurs appellent Participe et que nous verrons bientôt. Ainsi, pour rendre *ceux que j'aime* etc., d'après cette coutume on se dispensera du Relatif *ka* et on dira tout simplement *saiakihakik*.

Les Pronoms Interrogatifs Algonquins sont, comme les Démonstratifs, en même temps Pronoms et Adjectifs.

Ce sont :—

Pour le Singulier ; *awenen ?* qui, quel, quelle, lequel, laquelle, au *genre animé*, *wekonen ?* quoi, quel, quelle, lequel, laquelle au *genre inanimé*.

Pour le Pluriel : *awenenak ?* qui, quels, quelles, lesquels,

lesquelles au *genre animé; wekonenan*? quels, quelles, lesquels, lesquelles au *genre inanimé*.

Pour le Dubitatif; *awekwenitok*? qui; *wekotokwenitok*? quoi. Avec les Pronoms Interrogatifs non mis à la forme Dubitative il faut avoir soin d'employer l'Investigatif Nominal si le Substantif est exprimé. Ainsi, l'Investigatif de *pine* perdrix étant *pinenen*, il faudra dire, *awenen pinenen*, quelle perdrix?

Les Pronoms *Indéfinis* ressemblent, quoique sans correspondre entièrement aux Adjectifs du même nom, comme il est facile de s'en convaincre. Ce sont *awiia*, *awiiak*, quelqu'un; *keko* quelque chose; *awekwen* quiconque; *wekotodwen* n'importe quoi; *nibina* beaucoup; *nanint* quelques uns; *kakina* tout, tous, toutes; *pejik* l'un; *kotak* l'autre; *pepejik* un à un, un à chacun.

IV. — DU VERBE

C'est bien en Algonquin que le Verbe est le *mot par excellence*. De toutes les Parties du Discours c'est celle qui est le plus employée; et les formes en sont démésurément plus nombreuses qu'en aucune autre. C'est ce qui va ressortir des quelques remarques suivantes sur la Conjugaison, les Espèces et les Accidents des Verbes Algonquins:

I. — CONJUGAISON DU VERBE

Elle se fait au moyen de trois Personnels, neuf Modes, et sept Temps.

Les Personnels sont: *ni* je, nous; *ki* tu, vous, nous *inclusif; o, ot* devant une voyelle, il, elle, ils, elles. Ces Pronoms s'emploient toujours avant le Verbe aux Modes Indicatif et Dubitatif pour en indiquer la Personne; excepté celui de la troisième Personne, qui ne figure qu'avec un Verbe *à régime*. Ils ne s'emploient aucunement au Subjonctif et aux Modes qui en dépendent. Ainsi, on dira avec le Personnel: *ni nese*, je respire; *kit akosimitok*, tu es peut-être malade; *o pakitewan*, il le frappe. Mais on dira sans Personnel: *nese*, il respire; *akositok*, il est peut-être malade: *pakitewak*, que je le frappe; *saiakiaghobanen*, s'il l'avait aimé.

Les Modes Algonquins sont: l'Indicatif, le Conditionnel, l'Impératif, le Subjonctif, le Participe, le Dubitatif, l'Investigatif,

l'Eventuel et le Gérondif. Les quatre premiers ont leur définition dans nos grammaires.

Le Dubitatif est un mode qui sert à exprimer le Doute. Il a la forme de l'Indicatif avec ses terminaisons propres. Ainsi, si l'on dit à l'Indicatif *ni sakidjike* j'aime, *sakidjike* il aime, l'on dira au Dubitatif *ni sakidjikemitok* j'aime peut-être, *sakidjiketok* il aime peut-être.

L'Investigatif est une sorte de Dubitatif quant au sens, et de Subjonctif quant à la forme; on peut le traduire par *si jamais, est-ce que par hasard* etc., avec le Verbe. Ainsi, si l'on change le Subjonctif *sakihak*, que je l'aime, en *saiakihawaken*, on aura l'Investigatif et on traduira par *si jamais je l'aime, moi qui l'aime peut-être*, etc.

Le Participe est encore une forme particulière du Subjonctif que l'on traduit par *moi qui, celui qui, celui que, ceux que, celui par qui* etc., avec le Verbe. Par exemple, du Subjonctif *sakihak*, que je l'aime, on formera le Participe *saiakihak* celui ou celle que j'aime; de *sakihitc*, qu'il m'aime, on aura *saiakihitc* celui qui m'aime, etc.

L'Eventuel est une troisième forme du Subjonctif, que l'on peut rendre par *lorsque, toutes les fois que*, etc., avec le Verbe. Ainsi, du Subjonctif déjà cité on formera *saiakihakin* lorsque je l'aime.

Le Gérondif est un Mode Impersonnel qui peut se rendre par *en, comme quelqu'un qui* etc., avec le Verbe. Par exemple, si je veux dire *en aimant, comme quelqu'un qui aime*, j'emploierai le Gérondif de *sakidjike* il aime, et dirai *saiakidjikengin*.

Les Temps du Verbe Algonquin sont: le Présent, l'Imparfait, le Passé Eloigné, le Passé Indéfini, le Plus-que-parfait, le Futur Simple et le Futur Passé. Le Passé Eloigné est le seul qui soit étranger à nos grammaires; mais il n'est que ce que son nom comporte, l'indication d'un acte ou d'un état qui *était autrefois* et qui *n'est plus*. Ainsi, pour traduire *il aimait* on dira *sakidjikeban* en employant l'Imparfait; mais pour rendre le Passé Eloigné contenu dans cette autre phrase *il aimait autrefois*, il faudra dire *sakidjikegoban*.

L'Indicatif et le Subjonctif ont tous les Temps ci-dessus mentionnés. Le Participe est le plus riche après eux, il ne lui manque guère qu'un ou deux Temps secondaires. L'Impératif

et le Dubitatif n'ont que le Présent et le Futur Simple. Le Conditionnel, l'Investigatif et l'Eventuel n'ont que le Présent et l'Imparfait. Enfin le Gérondif n'a que le Présent.

Il n'y a pas d'Auxiliaires en Algonquin, c'est à l'aide de certaines Particules que se forment les Temps Composés ou Secondaires. Ces Particules se placent devant le Verbe et en sont les Caractéristiques, car elles en désignent le Mode et le Temps.

2. — ESPÈCES DE VERBES

Le nombre en est réellement prodigieux. Disons d'abord que les Verbes Algonquins se divisent en deux grandes classes : Verbes sans régime direct, comme *dormir*, *être beau*, *entendre* c'est-à-dire *avoir l'ouïe ;* et Verbes avec régime direct, comme *aimer*, *entendre* une personne ou une chose. Ces deux classes de Verbes donnent lieu à un grand nombre de conjugaisons, que voici en résumé :

La première classe comprend trois conjugaisons spécifiquement distinguées entre elles par la terminaison de la troisième Personne du Singulier du Présent de l'Indicatif, suivant que cette terminaison est une voyelle, ou *m* ou bien *n*. Ainsi, *nese* il respire, appartient à la première conjugaison ; *pizindam* il écoute, à la deuxième ; *tagocin* il arrive, à la troisième.

Quant à la Seconde classe de Verbes, voici comment on peut en indiquer les conjugaisons :

Les Verbes avec régime direct du *genre inanimé* ont deux conjugaisons aussi spécifiquement distinguées l'une de l'autre par la terminaison de la Troisième Personne du Singulier, du Présent de l'Indicatif, cette terminaison pouvant être *on* ou *an*. D'après cela, *o sakiton* il aime (cela) appartient à la première conjugaison ; *o pizindan* il écoute (cela) est de la seconde. Deux autres conjugaisons s'ajoutent à celles-ci si le régime direct est au Pluriel, et les deux formes précédentes deviendront *o sakitonan* il les aime (ces choses), *o pizindanan* il les écoute (ces choses).

Les Verbes avec régime direct du *genre animé* tirent leurs conjugaisons de la terminaison de la deuxième Personne du Singulier de leur Impératif Présent. Or cette terminaison peut être *ah*, *eh*, *ih*, *ci*, *j*, *m*, *n* ou *v*. De là autant de conjugaisons plus ou moins diverses pour cette sorte de Verbes. Ainsi, les

Impératifs *sakih* aime-le, *aci* place-le, *naguj* abandonne-le, *tibenim* gouverne-le, *webin* rejette-le et *pakitev* frappe-le indiqueront autant de conjugaisons de Verbes à régime direct du genre animé. Ces conjugaisons sont quadruplées pour répondre aux cas où le régime direct est au Pluriel, où ce régime est le Personnel *e*, où le Verbe est à la forme *reflexive*, où enfin ce Verbe est à la forme *réciproque*. Par exemple, ces phrases, *ni tibenimak* je les gouverne, *ki tibenimin* je te gouverne, *ni tibenindis* je me gouverne et *tibenindiwak* ils se gouvernent mutuellement, sont autant de spécimens de conjugaisons à ajouter aux précédentes.

Les Verbes à la Voix Passive tirent aussi leurs conjugaisons des Racines ci-dessus mentionnées, et elles sont également quadruplées pour les cas où le régime est au Pluriel, où ce régime est du genre *inanimé*, où il est exprimé par le Prénom Indéfini *On*, où enfin il est rendu par les Personnels *Tu*, *Vous*. Ainsi, de la Racine *sakih*, aime-le, on aura les formes Passives *ni sakihik* il m'aime, *ni sakihigok* ils m'aiment, *ni sakihigon* elle (cette chose) a de l'affection pour moi, *ni sakihigo* on m'aime, et *ki sakih* tu m'aimes.

Enfin, disons que tous les Verbes, à quelque classe qu'ils appartiennent, sont susceptibles de revêtir, lorsque leur sujet est du genre inanimé, la même forme que ceux qui n'ont jamais de forme Personnelle. Ces Verbes Impersonnels constituent trois autres conjugaisons, suivant qu'ils se terminent par une voyelle, ou *n*, ou bien *t*. Ainsi, *pikocka*, c'est brisé, est de la 1ère conj. ; *kimiwan*, il pleut, de la 2ème. ; *kiwemagat*, ça retourne, de la 3ème.

A part les grandes divisions déjà énoncées il y a un nombre considérable d'espèces particulières de Verbes. Les uns sont *causatifs*, c. a. d. exprimant l'action que le sujet *fait subir* au régime ; comme *faire dormir*, *faire aller* etc.

Il y a encore les Verbes dérivés d'un Substantif; et d'abord ceux qui expriment *l'attitude*, lesquels sont toujours doublés, suivant que celle-ci provient de la *configuration physique* ou bien de la *volonté* de l'agent. Ainsi, aux Verbes dérivés *avoir la bouche de travers* etc., correspondra une autre sorte de Verbes pour rendre *se mettre la bouche de travers* etc.

Ensuite viennent les verbes *d'existence*, comme *être homme*,

être chef etc. Puis les Verbes de *possession*, comme *avoir un chapeau*, *avoir de l'argent* etc. ; les Verbes de *construction*, comme *faire une cabane*, *faire une flèche*, etc. ; les Verbes *d'abondance*, comme *il y a beaucoup de castor*, etc. ; les Verbes de *langage*, comme *parler le français*, etc. ; les Verbes de *transformation*, comme *faire devenir corps*, *en faire un aviron*, etc. ; enfin les Verbes de *simulation* qui viennent d'un Substantif, d'un Adjectif ou d'un Verbe, comme *feindre d'être chef*, *faire le dévôt*, *faire semblant de partir*, etc.

Sans doute il n'entre pas dans mon plan d'exposer les règles relatives à la formation de ces diverses espèces de Verbes, que j'ai énumérés ici simplement pour donner une idée de la richesse de l'Algonquin en fait de Verbes. Mais je ne puis m'empêcher d'ajouter encore un mot sur ce sujet. Outre les Verbes formés d'un Substantif ou d'autres Parties du Discours, il y a aussi les Verbes *à effet* exprimant, à l'aide de certaines désinences bien remarquables, *par quelle cause* se produit *tel effet*. Voici ces terminaisons à la première et à la troisième Personne du Singulier du Présent de l'Indicatif et leurs indications respectives : --

ok-oko, être . . . par les vagues ; comme *kinahok-oko*, être empêché par les vagues ; *kiwackweiahok-oko*, être étourdi par les vagues.

abawe, être . . . par l'eau ; comme *cabwabawe*, être transpercé par l'eau.

bi, être . . . par la boisson.

ac-aci, *asin* (avec sujet inanimé), être . . . par le vent.

atc-atci, *atin* (avec sujet inanimé), être . . . par le froid.

awas-awazo, *awate* (avec s. in.), être . . . par la chaleur.

as-aso, *ate* (avec s. in.), être . . . par le soleil,

abas-abaso, *abate* (avec s. in.), être . . . par la fumée.

akis-akizo, *akite* (avec s. in.), être . . . par le feu.

akone, être . . . par la neige.

nos-nozo, être . . . par l'odeur.

kos-kozo, être . . . par le choc ou le poids d'un objet.

cin, *sin* (avec s. in.), être . . . par suite d'une chute.

ne, être . . . par la maladie.

tam, être par le bruit.

ngwac-ngwaci, être . . . par le sommeil.

Les Verbes *à effet* ont encore d'autres terminaisons pour indiquer *par quelle cause* s'opère l'action dont on parle, ce sont celles de l'Impératif de la Voix avec régime du genre animé. Les voici avec leurs significations respectives : —

in dénote une action de *la main ;* par exemple, *ni tangina*, je le touche de la main ;

ckaw indique le jeu *du pied ;* comme dans *ni tangickawa*, je le touche du pied ;

am fait entendre que l'action se fait avec *la bouche, les dents :* *ni tangama*, je le touche avec les dents ;

taw dénote une sensation *de l'ouïe : ni cingitawa*, je n'aime pas à l'entendre ;

abam, une sensation de *la vue : ni cingabama*, je n'aime pas à le voir ;

mam, celle de *l'odorat : ni cingamama*, je n'aime pas à le sentir ;

pw enfin indique une sensation du *goût ;* comme dans *ni cingi-pwa*, je n'en aime pas le goût.

3. — ACCIDENTS DU VERBE : —

Comme dans les Substantifs il y a, dans les Verbes Algonquins, certains Accidents qui en changent la forme au sein de la même conjugaison. Ce sont : l'Obviatif, le Surobviatif, le Possessif, le Négatif, le Diminutif, le Détérioratif, le Vitupératif, le Fréquentatif, l'Habituel, le Sociatif et le Locatif.

L'Obviatif, dans les Verbes, est la rencontre de *deux* troisièmes Personnes, dont l'une dépend de l'autre, qu'une seule Personne ou que toutes deux soient sujets d'un Verbe, peu importe. Dans ce cas, le Verbe qui exprime cette *dépendance* prend la marque de l'Obviatif. Soient les phrases : *le fils de Pierre chante, Pierre veut que son fils parle.* Ici les deux Verbes *chante* et *parle*, exprimant la *dépendance* d'une des troisièmes Personnes à l'égard de l'autre, seront affectés du signe de l'Obviatif.

Le Surobviatif, dont il est maintenant question, est le concours de *trois* troisièmes Personnes, tel qu'expliqué plus haut à propos du Nom. Alors, non seulement le Substantif exprimant la *troisième* troisième Personne, mais aussi le Verbe s'y rapportant prend la marque de cet Accident. Ainsi, pour

rendre *Pierre aime la fille du sauvage*, il faudra mettre au Surobviatif non seulement *fille* mais *aime ;* car ces deux mots se rapportent à une *troisième* troisième Personne.

Le Possessif, dont il s'agit ici, est le Cas où un Verbe à la première ou deuxième Personne exprime une action se portant sur un régime qui se trouve être *la propriété* d'une tierce Personne. Alors un *m* entre le Radical et la terminaison indique cet Accident. Ainsi, pour exprimer *il aime son* (propre) *fils*, on dira *o sakihan okwisisan ;* mais si l'on veut rendre *j'aime son fils*, il faudra dire *ni sakihiman okwisisan.*

Le Négatif est employé lorsque le Verbe comporte une Négation. Sa marque est *si*, qu'on ajoute à ce Verbe d'après certaines règles plus ou moins compliquées, avec ou sans la Particule Négative suivant les cas visés par ces règles.

Le Diminutif est employé à la troisième Personne de l'Indicatif et du Subjonctif de certains Verbes pour en *amoindrir* le sens. Ainsi, de *pimipato* il court, *awan* il y a du brouillard, on formera *pimipatonsiwi* il court à petits pas, *awanonsiwan* il y a un petit brouillard.

Le Détérioratif, dans les Verbes, a la même forme que dans les Noms ; cependant il n'exprime pas simplement, dans ceux-là, la même idée que dans ceux-ci ; mais surtout un sentiment de *sympathie*, de *pitié*. Ainsi, de *wisini* il mange, on formera *wisinici* il mange ce convalescent à la santé duquel on s'intéresse. Le Vitupératif donne l'idée de *blâme* que mérite l'action exprimée par le Verbe. Sa caractéristique est *ck-cki* ou *ckic-ckici* ajoutée à la troisième Personne du Singulier du Présent de l'Indicatif du Verbe primitif. Ainsi, de *aiamie* il prie, de *anoki* il fait la chasse, on formera *aiamieckic-ici* prier mal, *anokick-cki* aimer trop la chasse.

Le Modificatif est un certain changement qui s'opère dans la terminaison du Subjonctif d'un Verbe sans régime à la première ou deuxième Personne lorsqu'il est *subordonné* à un autre à la troisième Personne. Par exemple, pour dire, *si je n'en mange pas*, on traduit par *eka midjian ;* mais pour rendre cette phrase, *il me blâmera si je n'en mange pas*, on emploiera le Modificatif du Verbe *manger* et on dira *eka midjiwak.*

Le Fréquentatif est un Accident qui indique la *répétition* de l'action du Verbe au moyen de la réduplication de la syllabe

initiale. Ainsi le Fréquentatif de *odjim*, baise-le, sera *oiodjim*, baise-le plusieurs fois.

Le Sociatif s'emploie pour exprimer l'idée *d'association avec*, ce que l'on rend en faisant précéder le Verbe de *witc* ou *wit*, et le faisant suivre de *m*. Ainsi, de *tajike*, il demeure, on aura le Sociatif *witc tajikem* demeure avec lui.

Le Locatif est un Accident du Verbe Impersonnel pour indiquer *l'endroit* d'une action ou d'un *état*. Sa caractéristique est *ong* ou *ng* qu'on ajoute à l'Indicatif Présent. Par exemple : *manatat* c'est mauvais, *manatatong* là où c'est mal, dans le mal ; *mitikoka* il y a du bois, *mitikokang* dans le bois.

Alliées aux Accidents du Verbe sont les Particules Verbales. C'est une espèce particulière de mots qui, se plaçant devant le Verbe, en remplissent eux-mêmes l'office. Les voici avec un mot d'explication : *wi* indique qu'on *veut* faire l'action du verbe ; ainsi, de *ni wisin*, je mange, on aura *ni wi wisin* je veux manger ;
awi dénote qu'on *s'en va* faire cette action ; exemple, *nit awi wisin* je vais manger ;
pi, qu'on *vient* la faire ;
nita marque *l'habileté* à telle chose ;
pwa l'impuissance en cette matière ;
madji donne l'idée de *commencement* ;
ani celle de *continuation* ;
kodj, *kakwehj*, d'*effort*, de *tentative* ;
gwinawi, d'*embarras*, de *perplexité* ;
pon, de *cessation*, d'*interruption* ;
ickwa, de *clôture*, *fin* ;
nici, de *méchanceté*, *mauvaise renommée* ;
nanda indique qu'on *cherche* à faire l'action du verbe ;
mamanda, qu'on *excelle* à faire cette action ;
pwatawi, qu'on *tarde* à la faire ;
manadj, qu'on *se garde* de la faire ;
pata, qu'on *a tort* de la faire ;
wani, qu'on *commet une erreur* en la faisant ;
matwe, qu'on *entend* se faire telle action ;
pitci enfin dénote qu'elle se fait *par méprise*.

Ce court exposé du Verbe Algonquin est suffisant pour nous faire comprendre pourquoi j'ai dit que c'est réellement la Partie du Discours *par excellence*. Ni le français, ni le latin, ni

le grec ne possède la richesse d'expression que comporte le Verbe Algonquin à lui seul.

Quant aux autres Parties du discours, c'est-à-dire l'Adverbe, la Préposition, la Conjonction et l'Interjection, elles n'offrent presque rien qui les distingue de leurs correspondantes dans nos langues. Je me dispenserai donc d'en parler, d'autant plus que cette dissertation a déjà assumé des proportions considérables, et que je pense avoir suffisamment montré, quel est le caractère propre et distinctif de l'Algonquin.

THE NAVAJO NOUN

PAR LE RÉV. LEOPOLD OSTERMANN, O. F. M.
St. Michaels, Arizona

Key to the Navajo words in the following paper:

The six vowels used in writing Navajo words in the following paper, together with English examples of their long and short pronounciation, are: *a*, as in card or in cart; *a*, as in bad or in bat; *e*, as in they or in debt; *i*, as in pique or in pick; *o*, as in known or in none; *u*, as oo in pool or u in pull.

There are, properly speaking no diphthongs in Navajo. There are a few double vowels; as, ai, ao, au, ei, ou, which resemble diphthongs very much, yet each vowel has its proper sound.

Of the consonants b, d, g, h, j, k, l, m, n, s, t, w, y, z, and ch and sh are pronounced as in English. G is always hard, never soft as in gem; gh is the Arabic ghajin, i. e., g shoved, as it were, along the upper gum. K, as a rule, is followed by an h; by pronouncing the English words « strike him » a few times, and then omitting the four first letters « stri », the pronunciation of k will be pretty correct. Q correspond to the spanish j in [illegible], or to the German ch in ich, or to the Scotch ch in loch, which is equivalent to hl, can be rendered in two ways: either by gently pressing the tip of the tongue against the roots of the upper teeth, or of the lower teeth and allowing the air to escape on both sides while pronouncing l. The first way seems to me, to be easier and more correct when the l is terminal, and the second when it is initial. Wh is w plus gh contracted into one sound. Zh is the French j, or like z in azure or s in pleasure. Y is always a consonant and never used as a vowel. All consonants in Navajo are pronounced hard, and never have the soft sound they sometimes have in English. They are pronounced as in English when they are

initial, only with a little more energy. The letters f, p, r, v, and x are not used, and the letter c is employed only in the combination ch, which is equivalent to the English ch in church.

Diacritical marks: The dash (—) over a vowel denotes its long sound, and the curve or breve (◡) its short sound. The accent (´) indicates the syllable upon which the stress of the word rests. The Greek circumflex (˜) represents a long nasal sound, and the French circumflex (ˆ) a short nasal sound. The apostrophe, or Greek spiritus lenis (') indicates the non-aspirated hiatus, followed by a perceptible interruption of the voice, and the Greek spiritus asper (ʽ) adds to the hiatus a short guttural exhalation. The sign (ʿ), a semi quotation mark, marks the so-called click, peculiar to Indian languages, and the mute (ˇ) is used over vowels, which are either not at all heard, or but indistinctly in common conversation.

I will further preface this paper on the Navajo noun by a few remarks on the article. The Navajos do not make use of any article, neither definite, nor indefinite; hence din*e* means man, a man, or the man; besh knife, a knife, or the knife. The nearest approach to an article is, perhaps, the letter a, which is prefixed to a great many nouns, when used in an indefinite or general way, e. gr., abe, milk; adó, nest; abit, belly; atqin, road. The a in these words is dropped when they are preceeded by a possessive pronoun; as, t'l*i*si bebé, goat's milk, i. e., the goat its milk; tsidi bid'o, the bird's nest; t'lish bibit, the snake's belly; din*e* bitqin, the Navajo's road.

The a in this connection has not a full, clear sound, but is pronounced very much like the English e in the, e. gr., the man. For this reason, instead of this a, an e is written in several of the northern dialects of Alaska and British Columbia. This a seems simply to indicate, that the noun is used in a general or abstract way, consequently it is dropped so soon as it is used in a particular, or concrete form.

Prepositions also frequently have this a when used without reference to any particular object; as, ach'i, towards; shich'i, towards me; nich'i, towards you; bich'i or yich'i, towards him, her, it, or them; niqich'i, towards us.

Considering the Navajo nouns from an etymological stand-

point, they may be classed into four categories: 1) radical nouns; 2) verbal nouns; 3) composite nouns; 4) foreign nouns.

1) Radical nouns are of two kinds: a) Such as consist of primary roots of one syllable, e. gr., tq*o*, water; ts*e*, stone; sh*a*sh, bear; b*e*sh, knife; ts*i*n, tree. b) Such as consist of roots of more than one syllable, which, however, are not compound words, but simple roots, e. gr., d*i*n*e*, man; tsilkâ, young man; chikâ, young woman. These radical nouns, like the radical nouns of other languages, are not defining or descriptive of the object they are used to designate, but are essentially nominative or determinative, differentiating one object from another.

2) The second category comprises Verbal nouns, i. e., forms of the verb, suffixed with the relative or participal particle i, used as nouns, e. gr., atsidi, smith, i. e., he who pounds; nalnishi, laborer, i., he who works.

By prefixing the preposition *be*, with, to the active nouns of this class, the name of the instrument or the material of an action is obtained; e. gr., beatsidi, hammer, i. e., that with which one pounds; benalnishi, tool, i. e., that with which one pounds; benalnishi, tool, i. e., that with which one works. These nouns, as also those of the following category, are usually descriptive of the person or object they designate.

3) The third category contains composite nouns. These may be formed in various ways: a) By placing two or more radical nouns (nouns of the first category) together, as is also frequently done in English; e. gr., altquit'lol, bow-string (altqî, bow; t'lol, string); tqot'lish, watersnake (tqo, water; t'lish, snake); tsenil, axe (tse, stone; nil, axe). b) By uniting two words with possessive pronouns; as, li biyel, saddle (li, horse; bi, its; yel, pack); besh bits*i*n, knife-handle (besh, knife; bi, its; tsin, wood, handle); debe bitsî', mutton, (debe, sheep; bi, its; atsî', meat)). c) By suffixing adjectives to nouns; as, ashilakan, sugar (ashi, salt; lakan, sweet); tqodilqil, whiskey (tqo, water; dilqil, dark); aze dichi, pepper (aze, medicine; dichi, bitter); janas, mule (ja', ears; nnas, tall or long). e) By uniting a verbal noun to a radical noun; as, lesh beqahalkadi, shovel (lesh, dirt; be, with; qahalkad, one takes out; i relative or participal suffix); besh benaalkadi, sewing machine. (besh,

iron; be, with; naalkad, one sews; i, suffix). f) By uniting into one idea an adjective, or other part of speech, with a radical noun and a verbal form; as tqin itsad lakanigi, a local name for ice cream (tqin, ice; itsad, one has crushed; lakan, sweet; igi, particularizing relative or participal suffix). g) By uniting a Navajo word to a foreign word; as, salao binant'ai, army or police officer (salao, soldier — from the Spanish soldado; binant'ai, their chief).

4) The fifth category comprises nouns taken from other languages. These nouns are not very numerous. Following are some of the more frequently used:

coqye, coffee;	English: coffee;
musi, cat	English: pussy;
besóti, pig;	Astec: pitsotl;
de, tea;	Spanish: te;
dola, bull;	Spanish: toro;
saghalo, cigar;	Spanish: cigarro;
dabalo, shawl;	Spanish: tapara;
beso, dollar, money;	Spanish: peso;
geso, cheese;	Spanish: queso:
alos, rice;	Spanish, arroz;
ola, gold;	Spanish: oro;
ola, hour;	Spanish: hora;
belasana, apple;	Spanish: manzano;
mandegiya, butter;	Spanish; mantequilla.

In some localities coffee is called cofwe. The word bégashi, cow, is not a real Navajo word, but must be derived from some foreign language, presumably Spanish. The Apache word for cow is vagashi. B and v interchange easily, in fact, are identical in Spanish in as far as pronunciation is concerned. Bégashi, therefore, as well as the Apache vagashi, is derived from the Spanish baba or vaca, suffixed with the Déné particle shi.

Considered grammatically, the Navajo nouns may be divided into about the same classes as English nouns. I will only remark that abstract nouns especially of quality and action, are very few in Navajo; abstract nouns of state or condition are, for instance, bil, drowsiness; dichi, hunger; daba, thirst.

Examples of collective nouns are : naaldlóshgi, fourfooted land animals ; naat'agi, fowls or winged animals ; tqaldlanaaldéhi, water animals ; nanise, plants including grasses, flowers, herbs, shrubs, and trees.

Navajo nouns (also pronouns) have no grammatical gender. Sometimes, however, a generic distinction is necessary, which is then made in the following two ways : a) If the distinction is to be made between persons, the word asdsan, woman, is added to the masculine ; as, nakai, the Mexican ; nakai asdsan, the American lady. b) Or the words : bakâ'e, male, and baad, female are added to the word, e. gr., naqóqoi bakâ'e, the male chicken or rooster ; li baadi, the female horse or mare.

Of course, the names of persons as members of the human race, or of a family or relationship, are distinct for the males and the females ; e. gr., quastqin, man asdsan, woman ; shizhe'e, my father ; shama, my mother ; tsilkâ, young man ; chikâ, young woman ; shinai, my elder brother ; shadi, my elder sister ; sitsili, my younger brother ; shidézhi, my younger sister ; ashki, boy ; at'ed, girl ; etc.

Chikâ, means any young woman, married or unmarried, of the age of about 16 to 30. Frequently sik is, my friend, is used as a general term for brother, and shila for sister. Awe, baby, and alchini, child, are common gender. The word shiye is bi-generic, and means either brother-in-law or sister-in-law. The same word is used in the same way by some of the Déné tribes of Alaska.

There are a few animal names, which have separate forms for the male and the female : dola, bull ; bégashi, cow (also beef or cattle in general) ; t'lisi chô'i, billy goat ; li chogi, stalion.

Frequently when two things, even inanimate, resemble each other very much the stronger, bolder, larger, or more robust one is associated with the male sex, and called male, while the weaker, gentler, smaller, or more placid one is associated with the female sex and called female. Thus the wild, turbulent San Juan River is called, tqo bakâ, the Male River, and the more tranquil, unruffled Rio Grande, tqo baad, the Female River ; a shower accompanied by storm, thunder and lightning is called niltsâ bakâ'e, Male Shower, and a shower without any electrical

phenomena, niltsâ baadi, Female Shower. The Big Dipper (Ursa Major) being a large, bold constellation, is called naqokôs bakâ'e, the Male Circler; opposite the Big Dipper is the constellation of Cassiopeia, somewhat similar, but much smaller; this is called naqokôs baadi, the Female Circler.

Instead of the distinction of gender, some Indian languages make a distinction between animate and inanimate nouns. In Otchipwe, for instance, this distinction is of the greatest importance, as the correct use and inflection of the verb and pronoun depends upon it, so that the most egregious blunders would result if it were not observed. This distinction does not obtain in Navajo, although certain classes of verbs require special roots for animate or inanimate objects.

In very rare cases does the Navajo language make use of personifications, i. e., represent lifeless, inanimate things acting as living persons; they say, for instance, dichî shinilqi, hunger is killing me, to express a high degree of hunger; so also daba shinilqi, for thirst; tqo yisqî, water killed him, i. e., he drowned.

The Navajo language has no special forms for the plural. The plural is expressed in the following ways:

1) By stating just how many persons or objects are spoken of; as, diné naaki, two Navajos; ashdla beso, five dollars.

2) By adverbs of quantity, such as, d'óoqoyui, la, many, la, more, another, others, d'ayisi d'óoqoyui, a great many, etc., as, kin lani, many houses; li d'ooqoyui, many horses.

3) Number can often be easily distinguished by the verb's being used in the singular, dual, or plural; as, diné alqush, the Navajo is sleeping; diné daalqush, the Navajos are sleeping.

4) Verbal nouns naturally form their plural same as verbs; as, a'neishodi, he who drags his gown, Long-gown (Navajo name for priest or missionary); a'ndeishodi, they who drag their gown, priests, missionaries; nalnishi, laborer, ndalnishi, laborers, i. e., they who work.

5) Frequently number is indicated by the root of the verb; as,

tsint'léle shan*tqi*, give me a (one) match.
tsint'lele shan*nil*, give me two (or more) matches.
tsint'lele shan*ja*, give me some (any number of) matches
tsint'lele shana'*a*, give me the (all, whole box of) matches.

These forms of the second person singular of the verb « to give », have a faint i between the pronominal element and the final root; thus, shanitqi, etc. This i is never heard in conversation, and can only be noticed when an Indian repeats the word several times very slowly and distinctly.

li tqadí*los*, take the (one) horse to water.
li tqadi'*ish*, take the two (or more) horses to water.
li tqadini*yod*, take the horses (a number of) to water.
li tqadinil*kal*, take the (whole herd of) horses to water.

There are a few nouns in Navajo, which have a separate form for the plural, in ke; as ashki, boy; plural: ashike, boys. at'ed, girl; plural: at'édke, girls. tsilkâ, young man; plural: tsilke, young men. chikâ, young woman; plural: chike, young women. This plural is formed with almost all terms of relationship, e. gr., bitsoi, his grandchild; bitsoike, his grandchildren.

Words which are by nature twofold, as, ears, eyes, hands, feet, etc., are, in Navajo really dualistic in signification, although singular in form. If one of these parts or members are missing, this defect is expressed by suffixing the syllable k'is to the remaining one; (ak'is is an old, almost obsolete expression for half.) e. gr., dine binak'is, the one-eyed Navajo; tqeli bijak'is, a one-eared burro.

The declension of the Navajo noun is about the same as that of the English noun, with the only exception that in a Navajo sentence a noun in the objective case is not, like in English, placed after the verb, but immediately before the verb with which it is brought into connection by prepositional or pronominal verb-prefixes.

The possessive case is formed by prefixing a possessive pronoun to the thing possessed; as diné bili, the Navajo his horse. The name of the possessor always preceeds that of the object possessed, and both are connected by the possessive pronoun.

The possessive pronoun, in this connection, has the effect of changing the initial or terminal ł into simple l, and s into z; as, bili, his horse (li, horse) bit' lol, his rope (t'lol, rope); ma'i bizô, the coyote's star (sô, star) -- a large red star on the southern horizon, Canopus in the constellation of Argus. Some-

times, too, the change of l into ł is effected by words other than pronouns, e. gr., altqî t'lol, bow-string.

The syllables e, he, or ye, added to a noun, may be considered a kind of vocative. These syllables are also suffixed to verbs and other words, and seem to be intended to add to the expression and emphasis, or to invite particular attention.

Pitch and accent, syllabic quantity and nasality, the click and the hiatus, greatly influence the signification of nouns, as also that of other parts of speech, e. gr., ya?; what?; ya', sky; ya, louse. Bitsi, his hair; bitsí, his daughter; bitsî, his flesh. Bitse, his stone; bitse, his tail. Bizhe'e, his father; bizhe, his spittle. Bizhi', his body; bizhi, his name. To the ear of a Navajo there is as much difference between these words, as there is between the words « ship and sheep, or sail and sell » to the ear of an Englishman or an American. The non-observance of these marks, and the shades of pronunciation which they indicate, may cause sentences which will sound to a Navajo like the following to an American: The sheep sails about on the water, and the ship is grazing in the meadow.

There are no particular forms in Navajo to express augmentatives or diminutives, but adjectives like the following are added to the noun: tso, big; ntsa or ntsas, large; yazhe, tsíli, young, small; alts'ísi, small, little; alts'osi, slender, etc., mâ'i tso, wolf (mâ'i, coyote; tso, big.); le'e yazhe, colt (li, horse, yazhe, young); nashdúi tso, puma (nashdui, wild cat; tso, big); bégashi yazhe, calf (bégashi, cow; yazhe, young).

T'lochin, wild native onion, (t'lo, grass, plant; chin, ill-smelling); t'lochin tso, large cultivated onion. Numasi, wild native potatoe, (numasi, that which is round like a globe); numasi tso, large cultivated potatoe. Dzedze, wild cherry or choke-cherry; dzedze tso, large cherry or peach. Dilni, singing tube, or cornet; dilni tso, large cornet or bass horn. Chizh biyazhe, small kindling wood or chips. Lechâ'e yazhe, young dog or pup.

In Navajo, as in many other languages, certain vowels, at times, or in certain connections, change into a similar or related sound; thus, the o in tqo, water, when used as a prefix, changes sometimes into tqa, sometimes into tqu; the i in li becomes e in lechâ'e, dog, and in le'e yazhe, colt. (lichâ'e and lechâ'e, are

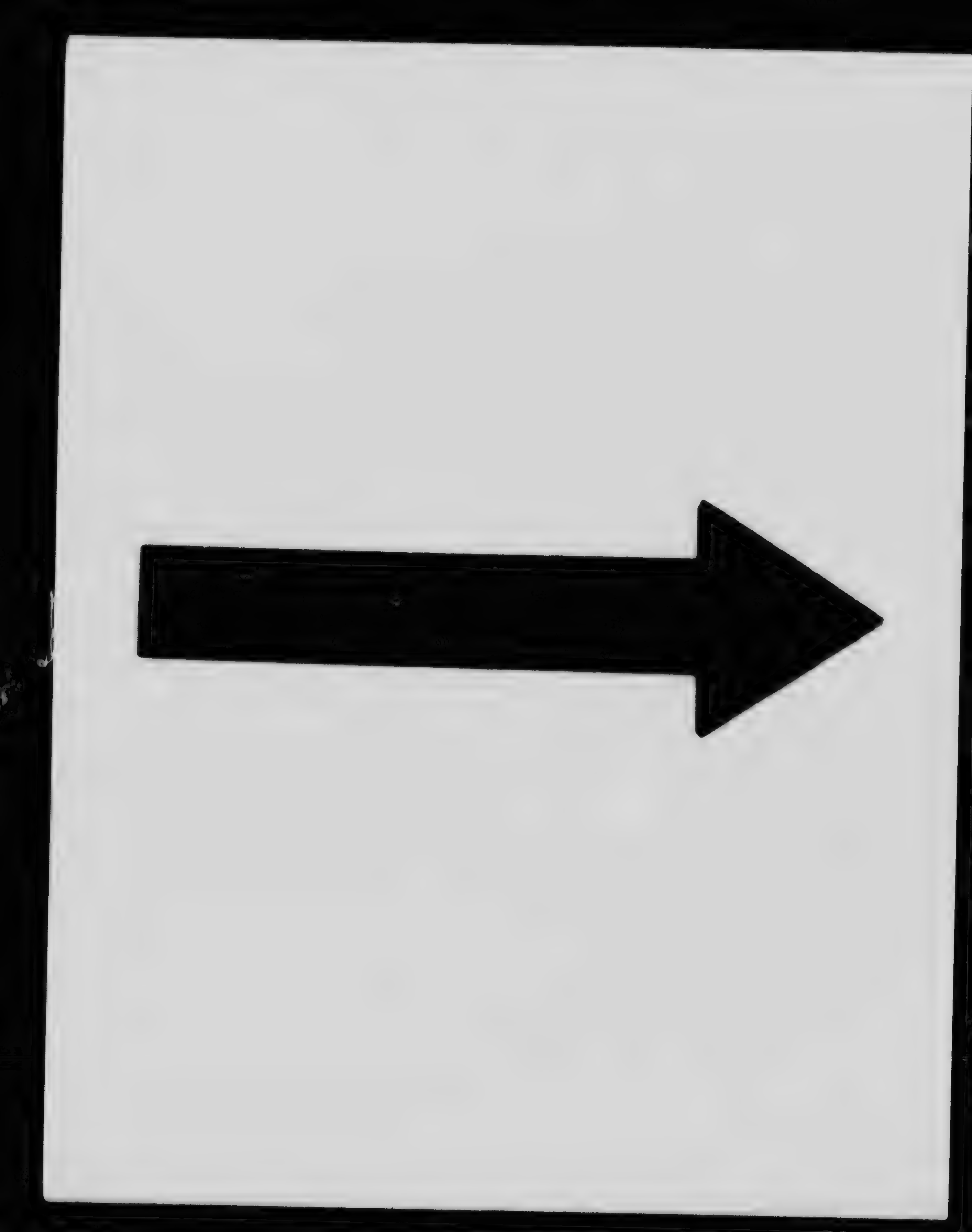
both in use for dog.). The vowels as well as also the consonants of the verbal root frequently change in the different tenses; especially does o easily change into u after q.

Homonyms, in the sense of using the same word to designate different objects, are scarce in Navajo and what seem to be such at first sight, are found to be different words after closer study. Compare examples given above. Yet there are some words which are homonyms in the sense mentioned, for instance, besh, knife, iron, or metal; tsin, wood, tree, pole, post, rail, stick; ch'il lichiigi, (red plant) tomatoes, beats.

Synonyms are equally scarce. Real synonyms are, for instance, sha and joqona'ai, sun; olje and t'leqona'ai, moon. The common and the sacred names of animals may be considered as a kind of synonyms, e. gr., shash, common name for bear, dzilyi neyani, he who grows up in the mountains, sacred name for bear. Bizhi', bits'is, and bitqa, his body, are not real synonyms, as they consider the body under different aspects: bizhi' has reference to the form and figure of the body, bits'is to the component parts, flesh, bones, blood, etc., and bitqa to the members, hands, feet, legs, etc.

While all the children of a family, boys and girls, have the same word for father and mother, the parents use different names for son and daughter. A father will say shiye', my son, and sitsi, my daughter, while the mother says, shiyazh, my son, and shi ch'a'e, my daughter. Grandfather and grandmother, uncle and aunt, etc., all have special names according as they are on the father's or mother's side. If a Navajo speaks of his brother or sister, he will say shinai of his elder brother, and sitsili of his younger brother; shádi of his elder sister, and shidézhi of his younger sister.

Although the Navajo, in addressing another person, does not, like the American, address him in the plural, but, like in all primitive languages, uses the second person singular, yet he uses words to show his politeness, esteem, or respect of the person to whom he is speaking. If, for instance, the Navajo meets a stranger, to whom he wishes to be polite, he will address him: sik'is, my friend; if he knows you, and likes you, and wishes to be patronizing and condescending, he will say: sitsili, my younger brother, or perhaps even sitsoi, my grand-



child. If he has a certain degree of respect for you, he will address you with: shinai, my elder brother; if this respect is greater, he will say: shizhe'e, my father, or even shichâi, my grandfather. The older he makes you in his address, the greater is the degree of politeness, esteem, and respect for you, or the greater is his desire to please you or ingratiate himself with you, and the younger he makes you, the more patronizing and condescending he wishes to show himself.

A few Navajo nouns in particular. 1) Active and Passive nouns. Among the verbal nouns there are some which insert an l between the final root and the conjugated element, and some that do not. This l indicates that an action or motion is caused by the preceding prefixed word; e. gr., tsinnâbâs and kônal-bâsi. The first word means « rolling wood », and is used for wagon; the wood does not cause the rolling, but is indifferent, or passive; hence, tsinnâbas. The second word means « rolling fire », and is used for locomotive; the rolling is caused by the fire, hence, kônalbâsi, i. e., the fire which makes it roll. In like manner distinguish between tsinna' el, swimming wood, or ship, and kônal' ele, swimming fire, or rather, the fire that makes it swim, steamship.

(The Navajos call wagon tsinnabâs, « rolling wood », from the old Spanish or Mexican careta or cart, with its two large wheels of solid wood.)

2) Nickle and Dime. The Navajo name for nickle, or five cents, is litso, a yellow one; and for dime, dot'lish, a green one. Before the introduction of coin into their country, the store-keepers, in trading with the Navajo, made use of paper money; the paper representing the value of five cents was yellow, and that for ten cents, was green. After the introduction of nickles and silver coins, the paper money disappeared, but the name remained.

3) The noun Besh, now used for iron or metal, was originally applied to flint knives, and to the flakes from which flint knives were made. After the introduction of European tools by the Spaniards, the meaning of besh was extended to include iron knives, and now it is applied to any object of iron, and with other qualifying words, to all kinds of metals, implements, machines, etc., e. gr., besh lagai, white metal, or

silver ; besh lichi, red metal or copper ; besh litso, yellow metal or brass ; besh dot'lish, iron, - used in contradistinction to other metals ; besh nt'lisi, hard iron or steel ; besh alts'osi, slender iron or wire ; besh deshahi, pointed iron or barbed wire ; besh qalni'i, or besh yaltqihi, talking wire or telephone ; besh aqidili, iron with which one severs or scissors ; besh benaalkadi, iron with which one sews or sewing machine ; besh binaghoi, folding knife or pocket knife ; besh aninigi, sounding iron or bell, etc.

(The word besh, or bes, meaning knife, is found in the Dene dialects of British Columbia and Alaska, were after becoming acquainted with iron through the Hudson Bay Company, they have invented words meaning beaver's dung, or bear's dung to designate it.)

4) The Navajos have two words for house : kin and qoghán. Kin corresponds exactly with the English word house, and is used to designate a log, stone, brick, or frame house built in American, Pueblo, or Mexican style ; whereas qoghan is the name by which they call their own houses or huts. The word qoghan has been adopted into the English language in the distorted form of hogan, (accent on the last syllable ; a pronounced as in fan), throughout northern Arizona and New Mexico, and is used by the whites of that region, just as wigwam, wickiup, or tepee is used elsewhere.

In the possessive case the word qoghán, in general conversation, drops the first syllable ; thus, shaghan, my house ; naghan, your house ; baghan, his, her, its, or their house. This is probably a contraction of shiqoghan, niqoghan, etc., resulting from a rapid or careless pronunciation ; for the form shiqoghan, etc., is also correct, and is used in all their sacred and ceremonial songs, in which the word house occurs. This form is intensified by doubling the possessive pronoun : shishaghan, shishiqoghan, my (own) house.

The word qoghan is used very extensively by the Navajos ; thus they say : dine baghan, a Navajo house ; li baghan, horse stable ; bisóti baghan, pig sty ; t'lo baghan, hay loft, - also t'lo baqoghan ; tsinnabâs baghan, wagon shed ; lejin baghan, coal bin ; tsidi baghan, bird cage ; dlô baghan, prairie dog's burrow ; t'lish baghan, snake's hole ; debe baghan, sheep corral ; lechâ'e baghan, dog's kennel ; wolachi baghan, ant hill. In short, it

is used for anything that serves as habitation or shelter for any person, animal or thing.

When qoghan is used as an indirect object, or to show for what purpose a house is used, the full word is retained, and is prefixed with the pronominal preposition ba, for him, her, or it; thus, naalyehe baqoghan, wares for them a house, warehouse or store; tsodizin baqoghan, prayer for it a house, church or chapel; tqódilqil baqoghan, dark water (whiskey, beer) for it a house, saloon; keya baqoghan, the land for it a house, land office; salao baqoghan, soldiers for them a house, barracks or guard house.

The possessive case of qoghan, prefixed with the pronominal prepositions: shil, with me; nil, with you; bil, with him, her it, or them, niqil, with us, etc., expresses the verbal idea of living, residing, or having one's home with another, e. gr., nil shaghan, I live with you; bil naghan, you reside with him; shil baghan, he has his home with me.

5) The noun naaltsos is used by the Navajos to designate paper, picture, letter, book, note. However, naaltsos is not a homonym for all these ideas; for when it means paper or note it requires a different root in the verb, than when it means book or letter, e. gr., give me the book, naaltsos shana'a; give me the paper, naaltsos shanlts'os.

6) The English nouns ending in « ful », e. gr., wagonful, etc., are rendered in Navajo by adding the word qadesbin, it is filled, to the name of the vessel or receptacle; thus, tsinnabâs qadesbin, a wagonful; tsinnabâs naaki qadesbin, two wagonfuls; azis qadesbin, a sackful; besesa qadesbin, a bucketful; béshede qadesbin, a spoonful; etc. If the object or material, contained in the receptacle, is expressed, this is placed between the two words and suffixed with the preposition (rather postposition) be, with; as, tsinnabâs saibe qadesbin, a wagonful of (with) sand. When speaking of something present or within sight, this must be expressed by the verb; thus, bésesa tqobe qadesbingo saka, a bucketful of water, near the speaker and he is drawing attention to it; azis nadabe qadesbingo shejà, a sackful of corn, lying there.

Aze béshede qadesbingo neidlî-do, Give him the medicine by the spoonful.

LINGUISTIC RELATIONSHIPS

WITHIN THE

SHASTA-ACHOMAWI STOCK

PAR ROLAND B. DIXON

The linguistic stock in Northern California to which the name of Shasta-Achomawi has been given, is composed of what were for many years considered as two distinct stocks, — the Sastean and the Palaihnihan in the nomenclature of the Bureau of American Ethnology. These were recognised by Hale in 1846 as distinct, but Powell in 1891, on the basis of incomplete investigations by Gatschet, suggested their probable affiliation, although treating them still in his classification as if this were not the case. Matters remained in this uncertain state until 1905, when, from a preliminary study of a considerable mass of new material, secured for the Huntington Expedition of the American Museum of Natural History, it seemed possible to state the practical certainty of the relationship hitherto only suspected, and to propose for the united group the term Shasta-Achomawi. At the same time attention was called to the existence of three or four new dialects, or languages within the stock, and to the apparently unrecognised wide divergence of the language of the Hat Creek or Atsugewi, from the Pit River of Achomawi, both of which had previously been classed as Palaihnihan.

The Shasta-Achomawi stock, as thus defined, includes five well differentiated languages, the Shasta, Achomawi, Atsugewi, New River and Konomihu, and one dialectic form of the Shasta, the Okwanutcu. All of these differ from each other both lexically and grammatically, and it is with the degree of this differentiation, and questions connected therewith, that the following paper deals.

It is one of the fundamental principles of philology, that a genetic relationship between two or more languages can be assumed, only if a certain degree of lexical similarity exists between them. The proof therefor, that the Sastean and Palaihnihan stocks are at basis really one, must rest primarily on lexical comparisons. Now, although such comparisons show clearly the unity of the five languages here regarded as forming the stock, they also bring out some other features of interest.

If the Achomawi and Atsugewi be first considered, languages which hitherto have been classed together as a single tongue forming the Palaihnihan or Achomawi stock, an unexpectedly great lexical divergence is at once apparent. It appears on comparing the vocabularies of the two languages, that but little over thirty-five per-cent of the words in the respective lists, show any clear relationship with each other. The words that are alike or related in the two languages, are of all classes, such as parts of the body, animal, bird and plant names, phenomena of nature, numerals, adjective and verbal roots, and various formal affixes. In some of these cases, the forms are practically identical in the two languages, in others there is a considerable variation, according however, to fixed phonetic laws of sound change. The most marked perhaps of these changes, are those of the Achomawi L, P, M and W, to the Atsugewi N, K, R and P respectively. Thus Achomawi « lax » (head) becomes the Atsugewi « nax » ; « wap'di » (neck) becomes « op'ki » ; « sumitsdax » (eye-brow) becomes « puritsdax » ; « walwale » (butter-fly) becomes « palala ». The remaining two-thirds of the two vocabularies are, so far as can be determined at present, radically distinct. The words making up this larger portion of the vocabularies are, like those which show relationship, of all classes, including parts of the body, such as eye, hair, hand, foot; the commonest animals, as dog, coyote, bear, deer; such words as man, father, mother, fire, canoe, the numerals 1, 5, 10, a large number of verbal roots, etc. In spite, however, of this predominant and striking radical difference between the two languages, they must be regarded as genetically related, although one has differentiated from the other, or both from a common parent form, to a considerable degree. The similarity so far as it exists, cannot be ascribed to borrowing by one language from

the other, for both the amount agreement, and its presence in all classes of nouns as well as in adjectival and verbal roots, and formal affixes, renders such an hypothesis practically impossible.

Attention being next turned toward the Shasta, and comparisons instituted between its vocabulary and those of the Achomawi and Atsugewi, much the same condition of affairs is found to exist, only in this instance, the proportion of agreements is much smaller. Here, barely 15 % of the Shasta forms find equivalents in either the Achomawi or Atsugewi. About a score or so nouns, a considerable number of verbal roots, and some formal affixes and pronominal forms are alike or related in all three languages, the remainder of the similarities being either between the Shasta and the Achomawi alone, or the Shasta and the Atsugewi. The number of agreements with the former is considerably greater than with the latter. As in the previous comparison, all classes of nouns are represented, parts of the body, animal, bird and plant names, natural phenomena, numerals etc. Certain regular and constant phonetic changes moreover are to be seen, many of which are identical with those referred to in speaking of the Atsugewi, the Achomawi « latiu » becoming « naxo » (cedar) ; « isat » becoming « isak » (ear) ; « tsimmu » becoming « tsiwa » (wolf). Although therefor, the total number of similarities noted between the Shasta and the Achomawi and Atsugewi amounts only to about 15 % of the forms compared, the occurrence of these similarities in practically all parts of the vocabulary, and the presence of regular phonetic changes, justifies us in regarding the three languages as genetically related. The hypothesis that the similarities can be accounted for by borrowing, seems here, as before, to be inadmissable.

In the case of the New River language, the process of lexical differentiation appears to have gone still further. Here, to be sure with a considerably smaller body of words available for comparison, probably less than 8 % of the words show agreement with the Achomawi or Atsugewi, although with the Shasta fairly close similarities exist in perhaps twice as many instances. The cases of agreement or relationship here, both those with the Shasta alone, and those with the other two members of the stock, are widely scattered, and in the latter

instance include such words as head, eye, teeth, water, tree, squirrel, the numeral two, and several adjectival roots, verbs and pronominal forms. A large proportion moreover of the agreements, run through all three of the other languages, the same or related forms of the same word being found in the New River, Shasta, Atsugewi and Achomawi. Further, so far as phonetic changes can be made out from the somewhat scanty material at hand, the same general replacements occur here as have previously been noted, especially that of L by N. It does not seem unjustifiable therefor to regard the New River language, as standing in relation to the Shasta, with which the greater part of its agreements exist, in very much the same position in which the latter stands with regard to the Achomawi. It has diverged however from the Achomawi so far, as to very greatly obscure its relationship thereto.

A still greater degree of differentiation seems to have been reached lastly, in the Konomihu. In this case, a comparison of the seventy odd words, which constitue all the material of this language recovered, shows in but six instances similarities with any of the other languages of the stock, five of these are similarities with any of the other languages of the stock, five of these are with the Shasta and Atsugewi, three with the New River, and but one with the Achomawi. Only a single term, that for head, shows relationship with all the other members of the stock. In spite of this very tenuous thread of likeness in the vocabulary, the general phonetic character of the language is so very similar to the Shasta, the whole tone and feeling are so strongly alike, that the conclusion can hardly be avoided that the Konomihu is to be regarded as a related, but widely divergent member of the stock.

From the lexical point of view then, it would appear that the five langages composing the Shasta-Achomawi stock were characterized by a marked tendency toward variation, which, starting with the Achomawi for convenience, is manifested in greater and greater degree in the Atsugewi, Shasta, New River and Konomihu. Whereas in the case of the Atsugewi and Shasta, the relationship to Achomawi is clearly marked, and I believe, unquestionable, the process of differentiation has gone so far in the New River, that without the connecting link of the

Shasta, its relationship to Achomawi would be very obscure. In the Konomihu finally, the change in vocabulary has been so complete, that there remains practically no similarity between its vocabulary and that of the Achomawi, and our justification for regarding it as a member of the stock, lies in the few resemblances to Shasta and Atsugewi, and the general phonetic character of the language.

Although the differentiation, in these languages, has been in part due to phonetic changes, the larger part appears to lie in a real and increasing radical differentiation, such that, with each step away from the Achomawi (taken as the point of departure only for convenience) a larger and larger proportion of words are formed from wholly new roots. In this process, and that of phonetic change, the Konomihu would seem almost to have reached the limits within which a language may vary, and still be recognised as belonging to the parent stock, and it is tempting to regard the Konomihu thus, as a language which was trembling on the verge of independent existence.

It is interesting in connection with what has been said above of the great variation within the Shasta-Achomawi stock, to note that in this stock in which lexical divergence is so strongly marked, the grammatical or formal changes are no less striking. These are most apparent in the pronouns, and in the verbal forms.

The independent form of the personal pronoun is, in its general features rather similar in the Achomawi, Atsugewi and Shasta, the only languages of the stock unfortunately, from which adequate grammatical material exists. The first and second persons are undoubtedly related in all three, although the Shasta differs from the other two in the irregularity of formation of its first person plural. The possessive form of the pronoun shows a greater variation. In the Achomawi, this is formed directly from the independent pronoun, by the addition of the regular nominal possessive suffix, and shows throughout a regularly formed plural. In the Atsugewi, the suffix added is not the same in the singular and the plural, and except in the 3rd person shows no apparent relation to the regular possessive suffix used with nouns. The Shasta is like the Achomawi in employing the regular nominal possessive suffix, with the

independent forms of the pronoun, but lacks the special plural suffix found in the other.

It is in the forms of the pronoun employed with the verb however, that the differentiation is most apparent. The Achomawi shows here the development of a regular dual, a form not occurring in the independent pronoun. The Atsugewi possesses a dual for the 1st and 2nd persons only, the 3rd person being alike in the dual and plural. The Shasta on the other hand appears to lack the dual entirely. Differences are also apparent in the form of the pronoun. The Achomawi form as employed with the verb, shows no resemblance whatever to the independent pronoun; the Atsugewi preserves the same form for the 2nd person, but differs radically in the 1st and 3rd from the independent form; the Shasta in this particular resembles the Achomawi, showing no relationship between the two pronouns, except doubtfully in the 3rd person. A further difference may also be noted with regard to the freedom of position of the incorporated pronoun. In the Achomawi it may be either prefixed, or suffixed, certain verbs requiring one position, others the other. If suffixed, it may here precede or follow the tense and other suffixes. The Atsugewi shows much the same freedom, although the position of the prominal suffix, with regard to the tense suffixes is rather more strictly regulated. The Shasta in the intransitive, in general follows the Atsugewi.

In comparing the transitive with the intransitive verb, considerable divergence of usage is apparent. In the Achomawi, the pronominal forms in use with the transitive verb, are rather complicated. The affixes, as used with the intransitive, reappear here unchanged, and are, in the 2nd and 3rd persons, used indiscriminately as subject or object. The object in the transitive verb always precedes the subject, and both as a rule occur as prefixes, before the verbal stem. In the Atsugewi, the intransitive pronominal prefixes, are used indiscriminately as subject or object in the transitive, in the 1st and 2nd persons singular, and the 2nd person plural. When the 1st or 3rd person is the subject, and the 2nd person the object, the subject appears to be un-expressed. Here, as in the Achomawi, the object invariably precedes the subject, and both generally precede the verbal stem. In the Shasta, as in the Atsugewi,

there is little difference between the forms of the pronouns in the transitive, from that in the intransitive, and they are used indiscriminately as subject or object without change. As a rule however, the object is not expressed directly, the verb merely taking a suffix, denoting the number of the object. Even this is often omitted, or refers to the number of the subject, rather than the object. The only exception is in the combination of the 1st person as subject, with the 2d as object, where a special suffix is used to indicated the object. It will be seen from this, that the construction of the verb is here very obscure, there being no distinction in form for instance between Thou Me, and He Thee. To give the needed clearness therefor, the independent forms of the pronoun have to be used, and in addition, a great use is made of demonstratives, to minutely specify the relative positions of subject and object in regard to the speaker. A further and considerable difference between the Shasta and the other two languages previously considered, lies in the fact that the subject and object here are always separated by the verbal stem, the subject preceding, the object always following.

A few additional points of difference in the verb may also be noted. In the Achomawi, tense is indicated by regular suffixes which follow, as a rule, directly after the verbal stem. There is also here very commonly in use a distinction between intentional and unintentional action in the transitive verb, this being indicated by a variation in the connecting vowel used betweén the pronominal prefix and the verbal stem. In the Atsugewi, regular tense suffixes are also found, but nothing corresponding to the distinction of intentional und unintentional action has been noted. The Shasta employs quite a different method. There are no tense suffixes here at all apparently, and future and past tenses are indicated, each in a somewhat different manner. In the future, there seems to be at least in part, a different set of pronominal forms used, as compared with the present, and in addition, a separate particle, which precedes the whole. In the past, all pronominal prefixes disappear, and are replaced by the independent form, while a uniform tense *prefix* is employed, for all persons and numbers except the 1st person plural, which appears to have a special prefix. In addition,

there is developed an elaborate system of six or eight prefixes, indicating at the same time whether the action is incompleted, completed, or long completed, and whether the action is known directly or indirectly to the speaker.

On the formal, thus, as well as on the lexical side a differentiation has taken place between the three languages of this stock just referred to. This is perhaps not as regular, or clear as in the lexical forms, but yet on the whole the same general relations exist, the Atsugewi being closer to the Achomawi than is the Shasta, which, in its lack of a dual in the incorporated form of the pronoun; its much slighter development of incorporation, and greater use of the independent pronoun and the demonstrative; and its peculiar method of indicating tenses, has departed widely from either of the other two components. It is unfortunate, that sufficient grammatical material is not available for the New River and Konomihu, to determine their position formally, in regard to the other members of the stock. So far as can be judged however, from the meagre material at hand, a further differentiation seems to be indicated.

The Shasta-Achomawi stock thus appears to be one in which, both lexically and grammatically, great variation has taken place. Starting with the Achomawi a progressive differentiation goes on through the Atsugewi, Shasta and New River to the Konomihu, such that the latter, lexically at least, and probably also grammatically, may almost be regarded as distinct. The stock therefor presents material which may be of value, not merely for the solution of local problems of Californian ethnology and linguistics, but for the wider subject of the lines of development of languages as a whole. On the more local problems, the great variability which has been shown, throws considerable light, as what occurs so conspicuously in this one stock alone, is eminently characteristic of the languages of the Californian-Oregon area in general. For here, within a comparatively small area, some twenty-five or more distinct linguistic stocks are now recognised. It is at least tempting to hope, that with further detailed study and investigation, it may be possible to show that through this strong tendency to variation, aided by isolation these many, apparently distinct stocks have been evolved, from comparatively few parent forms.

How far this hope is justifiable, and how far it may be possible to go with any certainty in such work, it is too early as yet to say; that some further cases of remote stock affiliation will be found however, seems possible. But whether or not other instance of this sort can be discovered, the case of the Shasta-Achomawi, here briefly outlined, adds to the conviction that the great linguistic and considerable cultural complexity of this whole California-Oregon region, is due to progressive differentiation, rather than to the crowding into this restricted area, of remnants of originally discrete stocks.

Importance de l'unité phonétique

PAR M. J. GEDDES, Brookline, Mass.

Avec la fuite du temps, les progrès de la science se manifestent de plus en plus dans tout le royaume des connaissances humaines. D'autre part, la facilité des communications nous a rendus plus que jamais citoyens du monde. Or, au fur et à mesure que les faits scientifiques se font connaitre, on sent davantage le besoin de les exprimer d'une manière à la fois claire et précise. Néanmoins, aucun fait n'est plus évident à tous ceux qui s'occupent, tant soit peu, de phonétique, que celui-ci : les différences les plus grandes existent dans la manière de noter phonétiquement ce qui est peut-être le mieux connu.

Par exemple, la bonne prononciation, et en français et en anglais, est établie chez les deux nations depuis bien des années. Pa conséquent, il semble que dans tous les dictionnaires on devrait se servir de la même méthode pour indiquer les mêmes sons. Rien n'est plus loin de la vérité. Chaque nouveau dictionnaire, soit français, soit anglais, a recours à un système particulier pour indiquer la prononciation. Le système dont on se sert se trouve assez souvent exposé sommairement au bas de chaque page du dictionnaire ; cela augmente à la fois le format et le prix du volume.

Pourtant, si tous les dictionnaires se servaient d'un même système de notation pour indiquer, au bas de la page, la prononciation, il y aurait ce grand avantage, que tous ceux qui s'en serviraient se mettraient, tôt ou tard, au courant de ce système uniforme et invariable.

Mais, à présent, le défaut même de cette uniformité si désirable est un obstacle tel qu'on ne se familiarise avec aucun système.

En essayant de se servir de plusieurs systèmes, on finit par n'en connaître aucun ; et ce qui est pire encore, et bien regret-

table, on prend en grippe toute méthode de transcription phonétique.

On répondra, peut-être, que généralement les gens d'une instruction moyenne n'ont besoin de connaitre à fond aucun système phonétique, puisqu'ils ne s'en servent guère que comme guide, de temps en temps, dans des cas douteux. Mais il faut entendre que le sujet qu'on traite ici, c'est-à-dire l'uniformité en fait de notation phonétique, ne s'adresse que d'une façon générale aux gens d'une instruction moyenne. Il s'adresse surtout aux lettrés, à ceux que leurs études appellent à constater des faits dans les divers champs de la science. Ce sont, avant tout, ceux qui s'occupent de phonétique, et leur nombre augmente de jour en jour, qui ont le plus à cœur de voir enfin s'établir un système uniforme de transcription : car leur outil indispensable est une série quelconque de signes pour indiquer les sons de l'idiome qu'ils étudient. Ensuite viennent ceux qui font les dictionnaires et les glossaires ; puis, les géographes ; après, les linguistes, et ainsi de suite en parcourant les autres divers champs de la science. La multiplicité des systèmes dont on se sert à l'heure actuelle n'aurait pas de grands inconvénients, si chacun des groupes que nous venons de mentionner, et qui s'occupe à noter divers faits phonétiques, n'avait besoin d'employer que son système à lui. La difficulté, c'est que le phonéticien, le lexicographe, le géographe et le linguiste ne sont dans bien des cas qu'un seul et même individu. Il n'y a point de géographe qui, de temps à autre, n'ait l'occasion de se servir de dictionnaires ; point de lexicographe qui ne soit obligé de consulter des ouvrages géographiques. Supposons que chacun de ces groupes adoptât un système phonétique spécial, sans faire aucun cas des autres groupes, le résultat serait que la plupart devraient apprendre quatre alphabets phonétiques, c'est-à-dire n'en apprendraient aucun. Il est évident que la méthode pratique de traiter le problème, c'est d'adopter par un accord commun entre tous les groupes, un seul système pour noter les sons.

Le 26 août 1904, l'Université de Boston, en réponse à une requête faite par cent vingt personnes lettrées, publia une circulaire préliminaire, invitant les gens instruits de ce pays, ainsi que de l'Europe et d'ailleurs, à donner leur opinion sur l'opportunité d'avoir une réunion de savants en fait de

phonétique afin d'adopter un alphabet universel pour servir de clé à la figuration de la prononciation dans les dictionnaires et les ouvrages classiques du même genre.

On résumait brièvement le sujet ainsi : Il va sans dire que chaque dictionnaire qui ait quelque importance se sert d'une clé pour indiquer la prononciation. A cause de la multiplicité des clés, aucune ne devient connue du public. Le nombre de ces clés et les différences entre elles les rendent pour la majorité des gens d'une inutilité complète. Il n'y a pas de raison pour que chaque dictionnaire qui paraît se serve d'un nouveau système pour marquer la prononciation. Au contraire, il y a la meilleure raison possible, celle du sens commun, pour que tous les dictionnaires qui constatent les mêmes faits se servent d'un même système. D'ailleurs, pourquoi les lettres qui font partie de cette clé n'auraient-elles pas une forme propre à l'écriture aussi bien qu'à l'impression ? Une clé pareille amènerait l'établissement d'une méthode de transcription phonétique qui s'imposerait.

Les étudiants des langues étrangères trouveraient tout naturel que la prononciation soit indiquée par des signes qu'ils connaîtraient déjà. Ce système, dès qu'on l'aurait introduit dans tous les dictionnaires, paraîtrait bientôt dans les livres élémentaires à l'usage des écoles, ainsi que partout ailleurs où il y aurait besoin de noter la prononciation.

On trouvera la critique et les réponses aux questions comprisés dans cette circulaire préliminaire dans une brochure publiée par l'Université de Boston en 1905, brochure qui sera envoyée gratis à tous ceux qui en feront la demande. Bref, qu'il suffise de dire ici en réponse à tous ceux qui déclarent le projet impraticable : Voyez seulement l'usage étendu auquel est mis, à l'heure actuelle, en Europe ainsi que dans ce pays-ci, le système de l'Association Phonétique Internationale. A ceux qui mentionnent qu'un tel alphabet devrait être lourd à manier et incommode, on n'a qu'à répondre que, comme règle générale, ceux qui s'en serviront auront bien rarement l'occasion d'employer tous les signes ; en général, on ne se servira que de quelques signes de plus que ceux dont on sert pour transcrire sa propre langue. Au point de vue pratique, ce système, au lieu de s'appliquer à toutes les langues, comme l'indiquerait

le mot « universel », jouera bien son rôle en s'appliquant au français, à l'anglais, à l'allemand, à l'italien et à l'espagnol.

Les trois langues nommées en dernier lieu sont écrites d'une manière bien plus rationnelle et phonétique que le français ou l'anglais. C'est surtout pour ces deux langues, qui s'écrivent d'une manière peu logique, que l'utilité d'un système pratique se fera sentir. Le système, établi et reconnu pour indiquer les sons de ces cinq grandes langues du monde, exercera son influence sur les autres langues, et toujours dans la direction de l'uniformité générale.

On peut distinguer facilement trois buts principaux pour lesquels un alphabet phonétique rendra service : 1 Comme clé de prononciation dans les dictionnaires. 2 Pour noter les résultats obtenus dans les recherches dialectales. 3 Dans l'enseignement des langues étrangères.

Quant au premier but, l'utilité d'un système phonétique a été reconnue depuis les temps anciens, et nous croyons l'avoir suffisamment démontrée.

Passons au deuxième but : indiquer les résultats obtenus dans l'étude d'un dialecte quelconque. C'est ici, peut-être, où l'importance d'avoir un système uniforme pour noter les sons du dialecte qu'on étudie se montrera dans toute sa valeur à une société de savants américanistes. Les ethnologistes de ce pays-ci étudient surtout les dialectes indiens. Ils examinent les noms géographiques dans les pays où l'on se sert d'alphabets différents de l'alphabet romain, comme par exemple : celui de la Russie, de la Serbie, de la Bulgarie, de la Grèce, de la Turquie, de l'Arabie, de la Perse, de la Chine, du Japon. On a pu avoir une idée de la difficulté qu'il y a à noter des noms russes et des noms japonais en lisant les comptes-rendus des événements dans la guerre récente entre ces deux peuples. Chaque géographe est à même de se rendre bien compte de cette difficulté en essayant de transcrire les noms géographiques des pays où l'on n'emploie pas l'alphabet romain. Autrefois, les géographes de chaque nation, les français, les anglais, les allemands, les italiens, les espagnols, transcrivaient ces noms, chacun à sa manière. Les dessinateurs de cartes géographiques des différents gouvernements ont déjà abordé ce problème, et ils ont éliminé les contradictions les plus frappantes.

Ce sont, surtout, les Français qui à cet égard ont été les plus libéraux, car ils se sont éloignés le plus de leurs coutumes ordinaires, afin de se conformer autant que possible aux usages adoptés par les autres nations. Il doit être évident, pourtant, que l'uniformité ne peut se réaliser que par l'accord de tous. C'est du moins la conviction de bien des géographes. Il en est résulté que le Congrès Géographique International a déjà nommé un comité pour discuter la question d'un système uniforme pour indiquer la prononciation des noms géographiques.

D'ailleurs, le sujet des noms géographiques au Canada a toujours été un sujet de grand intérêt et l'est encore, témoin l'ouvrage considérable que vient de faire paraître le rédacteur du *Bulletin des recherches historiques au Canada*, M. Pierre-Georges Roy : les Noms géographiques de la province de Québec, et cet autre volume non moins important publié par M. Eugène Rouillard sur les noms de lieux empruntés aux langues sauvages. Les nombreux mémoires sur les dialectes indiens, ainsi que quelques uns sur le parler français au Canada, présentés à ce Congrès des Américanistes, montrent bien le rôle important que peut avoir un bon système de notation phonétique pour donner des connaissances, à peu de chose près exactes, du dialecte dont on désire faire valoir les traits caractéristiques. Qu'il suffise de dire, enfin, en exposant les avantages d'un système uniforme de notation phonétique, système fait pour donner une idée des sons d'un dialecte quelconque, qu'il y a bien assez de travaux dialectologiques pour rendre très connue et florissante partout au Canada et aux Etats-Unis la Société des Dialectes Américains.

Nous voici arrivés au troisième emploi principal, celui de l'enseignement des langues étrangères, surtout le français, dans les classes. C'est ici où un système de notation phonétique a, de beaucoup, la meilleure chance de se faire bien connaître et de se faire apprécier. Par exemple, il y a, à présent, une grammaire française écrite par deux professeurs canadiens, MM. Fraser et Squair, de l'Université de Toronto, dont on se sert beaucoup depuis quelques années au Canada et aux Etats-Unis. Les auteurs emploient, pour indiquer la prononciation française, le système adopté par l'Association Internationale Phonétique. Voici l'importance de ce fait : c'est que des milliers d'enfants

sont en train de se familiariser avec ce système bien connu. D'ailleurs, à New-York, la maison de Hinds-Noble et Eldredge publie toute une série de dictionnaires internationaux où l'on emploie ce même système de l'Association Internationale pour figurer la prononciation. On a déjà publié le premier volume : « français-anglais et anglais-français. » On le trouve un peu partout, dans les écoles et dans les bibliothèques, au Canada et aux Etats-Unis. On en trouvera un compte rendu dans le *Bulletin du parler français au Canada* (t. III, pp. 302-303). Dans la Norvège, la Suède, le Danemark, l'Allemagne, la France et l'Angleterre, on se sert de plus en plus, et pour bien des choses, de la transcription phonétique. La civilisation moderne nous rend chaque jour plus cosmopolites. Par conséquent, pour quelle bonne raison faut-il qu'un enfant apprenne d'abord un système phonétique quelconque pour aider à acquérir les sons de l'anglais, un autre comme guide aux sons du français, encore un autre pour indiquer les sons de l'allemand, et ainsi de suite ? Une méthode pareille ne prête qu'à la confusion.

Ce qu'il faut, ce n'est pas un système particulier adopté à des besoins spéciaux, car il y en a déjà en quantité, mais un système de transcription phonétique dont le monde savant de partout se serve pour toute espèce d'ouvrages, d'usage populaire aussi bien que scientifique. Si ce système est introduit dans les ouvrages qui traitent de la géographie, des sciences et des langues, où l'on a l'habitude d'indiquer la prononciation, la jeunesse s'accoutumera peu à peu à cet alphabet, et s'en servira chaque fois qu'elle aura l'occasion de noter des sons quelconques.

Un tel système phonétique ne fera pas seulement qu'atteindre le but que nous avons dit, mais en l'atteignant, il fera valoir d'une manière frappante l'utilité de la science phonétique.

Déjà les éditeurs des principaux dictionnaires publiés en Amérique, en réponse à une demande faite il y a quelque temps, ont marqué leur désir de se servir d'un seul système comme clé pour indiquer la prononciation, pourvu que les phonéticiens s'accordent et fassent choix d'un système. L'importance de ce fait saute aux yeux. D'ailleurs, M. Paul Passy, parlant pour l'Association Phonétique Internationale, exprime le désir de l'Association de se conformer au système officiellement adopté par les phonéticiens comme système universel. Cette déclara-

tion montre l'importance qu'on attache au mouvement vers l'unité phonétique.

L'appui le plus important qu'on a gagné jusqu'à présent pour aider à l'organisation d'une conférence phonétique internationale, c'est l'encouragement prêté par deux sociétés savantes bien connues en Amérique. Le 29 décembre 1905, en séance à Haverford, dans la Pennsylvanie, l'Association des Langues Modernes de l'Amérique a voté son appui à la résolution suivante : « Que l'Association favorise le projet d'avoir une réunion internationale de savants qui s'occupent de phonétique afin d'examiner le moyen de trouver un système unique pour indiquer les sons de la parole. » Le 10 avril 1906, la Société Anthropologique Américaine, en séance à Washington, a voté en faveur de la même résolution. On a bon espoir que le Bureau des Noms Géographiques des Etats-Unis, suivant l'exemple des sociétés déjà nommées, agira de la même manière dans sa séance prochaine, cet automne.

En attendant, nous avons profité de la réunion à Québec du XV[me] congrès international des Americanistes pour faire un exposé des avantages à gagner par l'adoption d'un seul système de notation phonétique, d'abord comme clé de prononciation dans les dictionnaires, ensuite pour noter les sons d'un dialecte quelconque, et enfin comme moyen d'indiquer la prononciation dans l'enseignement des langues. Nous aimons à croire que ces avantages paraitront aux yeux des membres de la société distinguée des Américanistes suffisamment importants pour gagner leur adhésion à la résolution ci-dessus citée. Si la décision du congrès international des Américanistes est favorable, on aura fait encore un pas vers l'unité phonétique.

PROPOSED

International Phonetic Conference
TO ADOPT A UNIVERSAL ALPHABET

PAR M. J. N. B. HEWITT
du Bureau of American Ethnology

Mystery, especially artificial mystery, has a certain charm for a certain type of people, but in the long run most men would rather not be esoteric. Intelligent discussion with fellow workers, the more the better, is not merely a source of keen enjoyment to every scientist but is one of the most potent aids toward the solution of his problems.

There is hardly a branch of science in which the lack of this advantage is so sorely felt as in the domain of American linguistics. Before an audience like the present, no elaborate argument is needed to show the urgent necessity of freeing the study of American languages from all unnecessary drudgery that debars from it many active minds who might afford to the present workers the solace of company and the aid of suggestion.

It is no exaggeration to say that most of this unnecessary drudgery is due to the chaotic state of sound notation. A text in an Indian language is at present in most cases utterly illegible not only to the general reader but also to the students of other Indian languages and not infrequently to the recorder himself. We have some half a dozen more or less widely accepted systems of representing the sounds of aboriginal languages by graphic signs, and besides these, many authors invent their own systems. The result is that every student is compelled to spell out every word painfully, instead of being able to read it at a glance like the words in his own language.

The problem is an old one and familiar to Americanists. Hitherto every attempt to solve it has merely added to the

difficulty, by creating one more alphabet, used by a limited group of writers, but incapable of supplanting the others and imposing itself on all students as the sole authoritative alphabet.

The difficulty lies in fact not so much in creating an alphabet containing sufficient letters to represent the sounds of all Indian languages — that is easy enough. The real problem is, how to invest that alphabet with such authority that it shall have to be learned by every one who wishes to learn or to teach the pronunciation of aboriginal words, and thus to render it so familiar that it can be read, if possible, with no greater effort than is required for ordinary print.

No sooner is this aim stated than it becomes evident that the limited amount of practice which the student of an aboriginal language gets in reading texts of that language will never suffice to impart such familiarity. This reminds us at once of the fact that the students of American languages are not the only ones that need such an alphabet. All linguists feel the same need. Geographers need a system of writing geographic names in languages possessing no written records or using other alphabets than the Roman. The governments of the leading nations have in fact established special Boards on Geographic Names, and these Boards, by mutual consultation, have already arrived at a considerable degree of uniformity. The International Geographic Congress has appointed a committee to deal with this question, and the subject has been placed on the order of business of the next meeting. Every important dictionary and language manual has a key to pronunciation, which is practically a phonetic alphabet. The science of phonetics, which considers the sounds of speech apart from their meaning, is simply inconceivable without a system of graphic representation of these sounds, and logic, scientific accuracy and a decent sense of economy manifestly require that the same sound should always be represented by the same sign, no matter in what language it occurs.

Now the fact is that the persons interested in these various lines are to a large extent the same persons. Every linguist has to deal with geographic names, to consult dictionaries and to acquire some knowledge of phonetics. Conversely, every phonetist is to some extent a linguist. Suppose that every one

of these groups — linguists, geographers, lexicographers, phonetists — were to act independently in this matter and create an alphabet for its own exclusive use, the result would be that nearly every linguist, geographer, consulter of dictionaries or phonetist would have to learn two, three, even four alphabets. In most cases, not having enough use for them to warrant the effort, he would not learn any; and if he did attempt it, not one of the four departments would by itself afford sufficient practice to enable him to gain the desired familiarity.

The evident conclusion is that a single alphabet ought to be adopted by the common consent of all the branches of science concerned. Practice in that alphabet would then be afforded to every educated person whenever he consults a dictionary for a pronunciation, or reads a geographic name, or undertakes the study of a foreign language, or reads a work on phonetics. Such practice, continued year after year, could hardly fail, even without special effort, to render the forms of words written in that alphabet so familiar as to enable him to read them with but little greater effort than he requires for ordinary print.

In the main, the letters composing this universal alphabet would not have to be invented. They have been supplied, ready-made, by the decree of history which made the city of Rome the mistress of the civilized world for several centuries. In the Roman alphabet we practically have a universal alphabet. Most of its letters, in their usual values, represent approximately the same sounds the world over. The current variations in the forms of these letters very nearly suffice to provide one sign for every sound in any one of the leading European languages. By a few additional modifications of the same letters, some of the existing universal alphabets represent every sound of these languages in such manner that words thus written can easily be read by persons familiar only with ordinary print.

In fact, the endeavor to make phonetic writing legible without practice has thus far operated to some extent as a drawback to the development of a perfect phonetic alphabet. The authors of universal alphabets, knowing that their systems possessed merely the authority of individuals, strove to avoid everything that might shock the average eye, and hence were driven to select only such letters as might at once be recognized

as modifications of familiar letters. As the range of such modifications is rather limited, there is a constant temptation to use the same letter with different values in different languages, or to use only one letter for several sounds readily discriminated by the ear. Had we an agency possessing such authority as to insure universal acceptance for the alphabet of its creation, the demand for legibility without practice would be less imperative. Even modifications of letters not recognizable at first glance could be used when the utility of the alphabet would supply to every student a sufficient motive to learn it, and when he need no longer fear that he would have to learn any other.

How, then shall we create a world alphabet that shall really deserve the name, an alphabet possessing the requisite authority to insure its universal adoption, an alphabet which shall be law? In the same way that all laws are created: by delegates representing the various classes interested. These would be the philological societies, the International Geographic Congress, the various Boards on Geographic Names, the representatives of the great dictionaries, the International Phonetic Association, and certain educational organizations. To impart the maximum authority to their decisions, the delegates ought moreover to be invested with representative character by the various governments. Much of the work may be done by correspondence, but there ought to be at least one meeting, preferably several. *Sounds* can not be satisfactorily discussed unless they are *heard*. The expenses of one conference are estimated at about $10,000.

During the past two years, an inquiry on this subject has been conducted by Boston University. It is stated that 97 per cent of the correspondents express themselves heartily in favor of a phonetic conference. I think I shall make no mistake in expressing the conviction that there is not a student of American aboriginal languages but is grateful to Boston University for its public-spirited action in taking the initiative in the movement toward a world alphabet, which promises to do away with one of the most serious barriers to the study of linguistics.

Les fouilles opérées à Teotihuacan (MEXIQUE)

PAR M. LEOPOLDO BATRES, Mexico

A trente-six kilomètres de Mexico, capitale du Mexique, dans un endroit appelé San Juan Teotihuacan, se dressaient deux montagnes à forme pyramidale, connues sous le nom de pyramide du Soleil et de pyramide de la Lune. De mémoire d'homme on n'avait pas cessé de les considérer toutes deux comme une œuvre sortie de la main de l'homme, mais sans y attacher plus d'importance.

En 1865, Ramon Almaraz, attaché à la Commission Scientifique de Pachuca, dressa un mémoire assez détaillé, en y joignant une description de ces pyramides telles qu'elles apparaissaient à l'œil du visiteur. Voilà ce qu'il en disait alors :

« Les deux pyramides ont la base quadrangulaire. Elles sont tronquées toutes deux, et ce sont, à proprement parler, des troncs de pyramide. Le temps et d'autres causes que nous ne connaissons pas en ont détruit et caché une grande partie. La terre y est amoncelée en abondance ainsi que la végétation, cachant ainsi les matériaux dont elles sont faites, et leur donnant leur forme primitive, ce qui fait qu'à première vue, on est plus porté à les prendre pour des montagnes réelles que pour des monuments élevés par la main de l'homme. »

Ce rapport resta lettre morte, et le gouvernement mexicain, pour diverses raisons, ne se préoccupa nullement de mettre à découvert ces deux monuments qui allaient demeurer dans le domaine de l'inconnu pour nombre d'années à venir, pendant qu'à Pompéi et ailleurs l'on faisait des fouilles qui émerveillaient l'univers entier.

Enfin, en 1904, le gouvernement du Mexique comprit qu'il

fallait se rendre aux vœux des savants et de la population mexicaine, et il vota la somme de $1,500,000 destinée à éclaircir le mystère des deux pyramides. La direction du travail me fut confiée en ma qualité d'inspecteur et de conservateur des monuments archéologiques de la république mexicaine. Je me mis aussitôt à la besogne, et quatre cents hommes n'ont pas cessé depuis de travailler à ces fouilles. C'est toute une ville que l'on a trouvée en cet endroit, avec ses monuments, ses temples, ses maisons, ses tombeaux, ses rues et ses aqueducs. Commençons d'abord par donner une topographie des lieux.

Il y a trois vastes monuments placés en ligne droite dans la direction nord-sud. Au sud de la rivière San Juan, et sur ses bords se trouve la Cindadela, ou citadelle. De cette rivière San Juan, et à peu près vis-à-vis de la citadelle, part une route bordée de monticules de 12 à 15 mètres de hauteur ; cette route a une longueur de cinq kilomètres, c'est-à-dire environ une lieue et quart. Dans la plaine se dressent d'autres monticules de même dimension. Cette route a jusqu'à ce jour été connue sous le nom d'Avenue des Morts, parce que l'on était sous l'impression que ces monticules bordant la route étaient des sépulcres.

A mi-chemin, à l'est de l'Avenue des Morts, on remarque la pyramide du Soleil, appelée Totnatisch Itzacuel par les Indiens. L'arc de sa base a 227 mètres. Sa base est donc plus grande que la base de la plus grande pyramide d'Egypte, dont l'arête n'a que 139 mètres. Elle a une hauteur de 66 mètres (environ 200 pieds) et se trouve conséquemment moins haute que celle d'Egypte qui mesure 146 mètres de hauteur (438 pieds).

Ce temple du Soleil – le Soleil était le Dieu qu'adoraient ces populations — est une pyramide de cinq étages. A la plate-forme supérieure se trouve la chapelle du dieu.

L'entrée à la base se trouvait du côté ouest, vers le soleil couchant ; pour monter au premier étage il existait deux escaliers, tandis que pour monter du premier aux autres étages, un seul escalier de cinquante pieds de largeur tout en pierres de taille donnait accès. Sur tout le pourtour de la base existait un revêtement de pierres de taille d'une dimension formidable, couvertes de sculptures et de bas-reliefs traitant de sujets religieux.

Enfin, tout à l'extrémité de l'avenue des morts, il y a la pyramide de la Lune, appelée Meztli Itzacuel par les Indiens, beaucoup moins haute et moins large que celle du Soleil, et ayant quatre étages.

En face de la pyramide de la Lune, l'avenue s'élargit et forme une grande place au milieu de laquelle il y a un monticule.

Au coin sud-ouest de la pyramide, on a déblayé une grande place pavée très finement avec du ciment. Et sur cette place, adhérente à la pyramide, on a trouvé un temple. Et tout près de ce temple, on a trouvé les ruines d'un édifice appelé « La Casa de los Sacerdotes » ou la Maison des Prêtres, à cause de la contiguité de cet édifice au temple.

Au pied du pan ouest de la pyramide, on a découvert les ruines d'un autre temple considérable, flanqué de deux autres plus petits.

Tous ces temples sont décorés avec des fresques polychromes qui représentent l'histoire religieuse et politique des peuples qui ont habité là.

Autour des temples qu'on a déblayés on a découvert un grand nombre d'édifices, dont les divisions indiquent un degré d'architecture fort avancé.

Dans ces maisons, on a trouvé les poutres du toit carbonisé, des squelettes d'hommes et de femmes, tous dans la position à plat ventre. Près du crâne de ces squelettes, reposaient des bijoux, consistant en des pierres taillées de grande valeur. On n'y trouve pas de bijoux en or ou en argent.

Dans une autre de ces chambres, on a trouvé le squelette d'une femme tenant dans ses bras celui d'un enfant. Ailleurs, on a trouvé ici et là des squelettes dispersés.

A côté de ces restes humains, on a trouvé des idoles en pierre, brisés en mille morceaux, probablement par la main d'un conquérant.

Cette ville a dû succomber aux coups d'un peuple sauvage qui l'aura détruite par le feu, car on y voit partout la trace d'un feu terrible. Elle a dû périr comme la ville de Troie qui jadis succomba aux mains des Grecs, après le classique siège que l'on sait, chanté par Homère. Et ceci a dû se passer dans des temps très reculés, presque fabuleux. En effet, comment expliquer

sinon par l'effet des siècles innombrables, l'enfouissement, sous la terre et la poussière, et sous ses propres débris, d'une ville dont les traditions des peuples sauvages n'ont gardé aucune trace.

La légende dit cependant que cette pyramide fut jadis un temple élevé au soleil. Sur le sommet, il y avait une statue du Soleil, en or massif, sur laquelle se reflétaient les rayons du vrai soleil, et qu'on pouvait apercevoir de plusieurs lieues à la ronde.

On a retrouvé, dans les fouilles de Teotihuacan, un brasier. Ce qui porte à croire que les peuples qui ont habité cette ville ont quelque chose d'analogue avec les peuplades mexicaines connues. C'est un vase ayant la forme d'une double coupe entourée d'une bande et recouvert d'inscriptions.

Chez ces peuplades, le siècle se composait de quatre périodes de treize ans, soit en tout cinquante-deux ans. Ils croyaient que, cette période terminée, le monde était susceptible de finir. Une certaine secousse dans les astres du firmament leur aurait indiqué si le monde allait finir, ou s'il allait continuer à exister paisiblement durant une autre période de cinquante-deux ans.

A la fin de chaque siècle, les prêtres ou astrologues se tenaient sur une élévation, et observaient la marche des astres. S'ils s'étaient aperçu d'un arrêt chez une certaine constellation, cela aurait signifié la fin du monde.

Dans le cas contraire, si les astres continuaient leur marche normale, cela signifiait que Dieu faisait grâce aux hommes et les laissait vivre sans crainte de la fin du monde pendant encore un siècle, c'est-à-dire pendant cinquante-deux ans.

Naturellement, les astres ne s'arrêtaient jamais, et au commencement de chaque siècle, les prêtres annonçaient que le monde continuerait. Cette nouvelle se transmettait au moyen de grands feux allumés sur de grandes élévations.

C'était là une coutume répandue chez les peuplades indiennes du Mexique.

Nous avons dit que la pyramide du Soleil n'était, à vrai dire, qu'un tronc de pyramide. Il est connu que la plateforme formée par la section de cette pyramide était autrefois recouverte de grandes pierres taillées, comme celles des pyramides d'Egypte. Ces pierres ont été volées dans le cours des siècles,

et il n'en reste que quelques-unes. On en trouve à divers endroits du pays, où elles ont servi à la construction des églises, couvents et autres édifices. Nous recherchons ces pierres et nous verrons à les faire remettre en place. Ces pierres sont très riches en archéologie ; elles sont toutes recouvertes d'inscriptions, de sculptures d'animaux et de symboles.

Des fouilles faites dans quelques-uns des monticules dont nous avons parlé, ont révélé que ces monticules ne sont pas des ruines de sépulcres, ainsi qu'on le croyait. Ce sont des autels et des maisons. Quelques-unes de ces maisons possèdent un grand nombre de chambres, de vestibules, de terrasses et de grandes cours.

La grande pyramide du Soleil repose sur une vaste plate-forme d'une hauteur de dix mètres, avec plan incliné. Entourant le temple que l'on a découvert, il y a une grande cour avec pavé finement poli.

Les maisons étaient très vastes et construites d'après le même principe que les maisons grecques et romaines. On y accédait par un portique soutenu par deux colonnes carrées surmontées d'un chapiteau, de là on entrait dans une cour de forme rectangulaire à ciel ouvert et ayant son système de drainage propre.

Un détail qui a sa valeur, dans chaque angle de la pyramide du soleil on a retrouvé le squelette d'un enfant ; or on sait que lors de la construction des pyramides d'Egypte, on enferma vivant dans chaque angle un esclave. L'analogie est pour le moins curieuse.

On désigne sous le nom de civilisation Toltèque, cette époque déjà reculée. Il est certain qu'ellle était des plus développées, les objets trouvés dans les fouilles en font foi. Des vases en onyx incrustés de pierres fines, des vases en marbre finement sculptés, aussi bien que les bijoux en jades d'un merveilleux poli en sont la preuve.

Il n'y a pas de doute que cette civilisation merveilleuse est antérieure de plusieurs mille ans à celle des Gaules ; les Francs n'étaient encore que des sauvages couverts de peaux de bêtes alors que ces peuplades construisaient ce temple du Soleil.

Somme toute, les fouilles que le gouvernement mexicain fait faire à Teotihuacan ont révélé des trésors inouïs en archéo-

logie, et pourraient bien conduire à la découverte d'autres trésors plus matériels.

Ce sont les fouilles les plus grandes du monde entier, et il est vraiment étonnant que le gouvernement d'une république ait voté la somme d'un million et demi de piastres pour faire faire des fouilles au seul point de vue scientifique.

Les fouilles faites à Herculanum et à Pompéi ne sont rien en comparaison de celles-là. A peine y dépense-t-on une soixantaine de mille francs par année. On y travaille depuis plus d'un siècle, et si l'on continue de ce train, on n'aura pas fini dans un siècle.

Les ruines sont visitées aujourd'hui par des milliers d'étrangers, et quand les visiteurs arrivent en présence du temple du soleil, ils sont tous sans exception frappés de stupeur en présence des dimensions colossales de ce monument. Ils ont dû exiger le travail de milliers d'esclaves pendant plusieurs siècles. On calcule que la préparation seule des matériaux a dû exiger le travail de 1000 ouvriers pendant plus de trois cents ans.

Un tel effort poursuivi pendant des siècles, témoigne de la profondeur des sentiments religieux de ces populations. La foi la plus vive a seule pu inspirer et soutenir de tels travaux.

Les fouilles se poursuivent déjà depuis mars 1905. Le Président Porfirio Diaz, M. Custo Sierra, ministre de l'instruction publique et des beaux arts, et M. Efequiel Chavez, sous-secrétaire d'Etat, ont fait leur part de cette tâche et y ont consacré tous leurs efforts.

SURVIVALS OF

ANCIENT FORMS OF CULTURE

AMONG THE

MAYAS OF YUCATAN AND THE LACANDONES OF CHIAPAS

PAR A. TOZZER

We have in Yucatan and the country to the southward an unusual opportunity to study side by side a people, one part of whom has been under the full influence of the Spanish civilization since the earliest days of the Conquest, and the other part which has never felt any outside influence strong enough to show any appreciable effect upon their language, their customs or their religion.

Under the first category come the Mayas of Yucatan and under the second the Lacandones living along the head waters of the Usumacinta River in northern Guatemala and Chiapas, Mexico.

The Maya language as spoken in Yucatan stands out as one of the surprising evidences of the force of perpetuation of a native language in contact for centuries with a Latin tongue.

All the Mayas in the northern and western part of the peninsula are nominally Catholics, having been subjected to this teaching since the arrival of the Spaniards. One is therefore surprised to find in many parts of the peninsula rites still being observed which savor greatly of the native religion as found and described by the early Spanish historians. These ceremonies seem to be freed from possessing any heretical character from the standpoint of the Catholic clergy by having the symbol of the cross interwoven in their structure together with the names of many of the Saints of the Church.

Essentially, these rites are survivals of the ancient culture.

Seven heavens stretch above the earth which is in the fourth period of its existence. Each of the heavens contains special gods who make it their home. There are spirits of the fields and the chase together with good spirits protecting the traveller and the inhabitants of the pueblos and evil deities who lie in wait for the passer-by. The four *Balamob*, as in the days before the Conquest, take up their positions each night at the four entrances to a settlement, at each of the four cardinal points. They use pieces of flaked obsidian to cut the air and thus signal each other of the approach of danger. Gum copal is burned in honor of these protectors and gourds of *posol*, a drink made of corn, are offered by throwing a particle from each vessel to the four cardinal points.

At the end of the dry season when the trees which have been cut down in preparation for the milpa are burned, the four spirits of the wind are invoked by an offering of nine gourds of *posol* and entreated to come so that a good burning may be the result. After the corn is in the ground the four rain gods, *Yumtsakob*, are invited to come and send down the showers. *Baltse*, the ceremonial drink of the Mayas, is made and offered in several rites. The first fruits of the fields are given, each year, to the gods of the harvest.

We find that many of the early accounts have been relegated to the role of spirits all under the leadership of « *El Gran Dios* » introduced by the Spaniards.

Divination is still practiced in a number of ways in Yucatan.

No great undertaking is carried out without first consulting one of the doctors, called *Men*, versed in the several methods of reading the future.

If so much remains of the ancient religion among the civilized Mayas of the north, it may rightfully be expected than among the Lacandones, than whom no people in Mexico or Central America has been more free from outside influence, we would find a still greater number of survivals of early forms of religious rites and beliefs.

These people live on the headwaters of the Usumacinta River, south of the ruins of Palenque, east of the ruins near Ocosingo. and in the region of the ancient cities of Yaxchilan of Menche and Piedras Negras. There are no large settlements of

this people, they are scattered widely in the bush, each group consisting of but one or two families and each a unit unto itself.

We find these Lacandones making pilgrimages to the ruined in their midst, and carrying with them their incense-burners in which they offer incense and gifts of food and drink to the gods of the race who are supposed to inhabit the ruins.

The incense-burners of this people have been found by travellers since the earliest days of the Conquest. They consist, for the most part, of clay bowls to the rim of which there is attached a grotesque mask-like face. Vessels of almost similar form have been found in excavating in the ruins of northern Yucatan.

These sacred incense-burners have a variety of functions. Each belongs to a certain one of the gods of the race and the idol of this god is placed inside the bowl. These idols are usually of carved stone, of ten of jade, and are handed down from generation to generation and guarded with the greatest secrecy. We find in this one of the cases of a real connection between the culture as represented by the ruins and that existing at the present time.

The bowl shaped incense-vessel of the Lacandones in addition to being a resting place for the idol of the god and a receptacle for burning copal has still another function. The head on one side of the olla is in the nature of a deity of inferior power, a servant to the god who is represented by the idol inside. Offerings are made to the head by placing food and drink on the mouth but these are for the most part in behalf of the god whose idol is concealed under the copal placed in the bowl of the incense-burner. The prayer given at the time asks the spirit represented by the clay head on the bowl to « restore » the offering to the main god, his master, as represented by the idol of stone. A small part of the offering is also given to the spirit of the brasero for his own use.

The incense-burners found in the ruins by travellers are of two kinds. Newly painted and small bowls are brought and left as offerings to the gods living there and these have never contained an idol. The other variety are larger but usually identical in shape. They are the old incense-burners and are supposed to be « dead » and from these the idol has been

removed. There is an elaborate ceremony performed each year at the time of the harvest when the incense-burners are renewed. The old ones of the previous year die and new ones are made to take their place. The stone idols are taken from the former and placed in the latter.

This is a clear survival of a rite mentioned by Landa and the two rites agree even in many minor details. A separate house is built where the new ollas are made. During this period the men live apart from their families. While the rite is in progress, immense quantities of *baltse* are consumed and drunkeness is compulsory. New fire is made to ignite the copal placed in the bowls of the incense-burners. This renewal rite stretches over several weeks and is composed of a constant succession of acts which vary as to details but are in the main similar. The women take no part in the religious life other than in the preparation of the offerings to be made to the gods. Numerous gifts of food and drink are brought into the sacred hut where the incense-burners are kept and placed before the line of ollas as they rest upon an altar of palm leaves. A shell trumpet is blown at the east of the ceremonial hut inviting the gods to come in person and partake of the offering. A minute portion from the contents of each gourd containing the gifts is placed on the mouth of each of the incense-burners. This consecrates the whole offering which is then consumed by the participants in the rite. Chants accompany each act.

Small truncated cones of copal, representing the two sexes, are made and placed upon a flat board. Similar balls of copal found in Yucatan and without doubt a remnant of the former culture of the Mayas show the same idea of incrusting the tops of the cones with minute bits of the gum as is seen in the nodules representing the male sex among the Lacandones. These offerings of copal are presented to the main god at east of the ceremonial hut after which they are distributed in the bowls of the several incense-burners. They are finally lighted and palm leaves are waved in the smoke of the burning copal as the leader and his assistants chant. The leaves are then carried to the domestic hut where the women and children are gathered. The beneficent power of the gods as revealed in the smoke of the incense is supposed to invigorate the leaves with a

corresponding quilaity as they are used over the wife and children.

During several of the rites of the Lacandones, the bodies and faces are painted with red paint and bark fillets, after being offered to the gods are tied around the heads of the participants.

Another striking survival of the former religion is in the piercing of the ear with a stone knife and the blood, flowing from the wound, use to anoint the idols. This is now performed among the Lacandones but only at the height of religious ecstacy. Placing the body over the burning incense is another survival of the same character.

In the names of many of the gods found both among the Mayas and the Lacandones, there are survivals of terms given in the early accounts of the Spanish historians and missionaries. In some cases, the attributes given to the gods have survived as well.

In the artistic side of their nature, the Lacandones and the Mayas as well are very low in the scale of human culture. They have no creative genius whatsoever nor have they any artistic appreciation. If this people who inhabit the country to day are the direct descendants of those of master minds who conceived and carried out the ancient culture found everywhere throughout the country, it is hard to explain why the temples and sculptures in their midst do not serve to keep alive or even to revive any latent power which it would seem they ought to possess.

But among the Lacandones and Mayas there is no one as far as can be made out who is able to give us the least possible aid in deciphering the hieroglyphic inscriptions. Their mind is a blank on this subject, not, I am convinced from any desire of secrecy, but from pure ignorance.

We have, I think, an explanation for this. The culture was far in its decline at the time of the Spanish Conquest. Some of the ruined cities in northern and eastern Yucatan were probably occupied at this time, but to the southward, the ruined centres of Copan, Quirigua, and Palenque were buried in the depths of the forest and all their life and activities had ceased long before the Spaniards came into the country. Intense civil strife and external warfare were two of the causes which brought

about this decline in the life of the Mayas. But what is of more importance as explaining the fact of the ignorance of the Lacandones of anything pertaining to the question of the hieroglyphs, the early Spanish accounts speak almost without exception of this knowledge of the hieroglyphic writing being a possession only of the priestly class and of a few of the nobles, and conversely, that it was not shared by the common people. The priests and the members of the higher classes did not submit without a struggle to the condition of practical slavery imposed upon them by the Spanish Conquerors. Moreover it was the special desire of the Spanish priests to stamp out all remembrances of the native religion and this was only possible by first putting an end to those possessing this dangerous knowledge. As a consequence we find to-day no one remaining whose duty it is to keep alive this ancient teaching of the hieroglyphic writing.

On the other hand, the larger dependent class, without whose labor the great artificial pyramids would have been impossible, would naturally have an acquaintance with the ceremonial side of the religion without possessing a knowledge of the fundamental conceptions underlying it as would naturally be expressed by the hieroglyphic writing. This element in the population has as its descendant the Lacandones of the present time who have kept up what there is yet remaining of the former rites. We find, as we have seen, the ceremonial side still existing in the many survivals but for explanations touching upon the deeper significance of the religion and reasons for the line of thought necessary to explain the hieroglyphic writing, we meet with disappointment.

We pass from the long and slow beginnings in the far distant past to the culmination of the culture still in the past and far on its way downward when the first Spaniard set his foot on this continent. From the heights reached in the development of the hieroglyphic system and noted in the remains of the ruined structures found throughout Yucatan and northern Central America, we come to what we find to-day, a few scattered families living out their own lives in the depths of the forest alone and forgotten.

NEW OBSERVATIONS
ON THE OCCURRENCES OF
Precious stones of archæological interest
IN AMERICA

PAR GEORGE FREDERICK KUNZ

Probably nothing has given us a better insight into the subject of the personal adornment of the aboriginal peoples on the American Continent than a study of those objects which have been made of precious and semi-precious stone materials. It is their enduring quality and their richness of color which have attracted the finder as well as the savage or the civilized races, who peopled this half of the world.

Certain of these materials were used in precolumbian times and others as the diamond, tourmaline spodumene, zircon and euclase were not then employed.

It will be my purpose in this paper to give a brief resumé of such objects and of the localities which furnished the sources of these much prized and coveted ornamental materials; and only to describe them or new discoveries ; no attempt being made to refer to what has been described previously, and also to refer to such discoveries made within the past five years, both on this and other continents which have been described by myself from time to time in the annual reports of the Department of Mining Statistics of the United States Geological Survey, Washington, D. C., years 1902-3-4-5 ; in the monthly bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Central Park, New-York, April 1906 ; the bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, May, 1906 ; the American Anthropologist, January, 1903, May, 1906, the volume of the Precious Stones of California, published by the State Mining Bureau, 1905 ; a volume now in

press on the Precious Stones of North Carolina, issued by the Geological Survey of North Carolina, and the Occurrences of Precious Stones in Mexico, read at the International Congress of Geologists, Mexico City, August, 1906; in various papers of Science; the Jewelers' Circular of New-York, and in other publications.

Among the more important of the gem materials thus described are turquoise, jade, jadeite, beryl, agatized wood, chalcedony and amber; and lastly the « Heber R. Bishop collection » of jade, which was bequeathed by Mr. Bishop to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New-York, and is described in the great catalogue referred to in detail later.

TURQUOISE (1)

Perhaps no gem found on the American Continent has had a greater varied archæological history; and it has always been a source of confusion as to whether real turquoise or jadeite was referred to. Personally I have always felt that both substances were identical in references made by the ancient Mexicans; and have so treated the two materials in « Gems and Precious Stones of North America », (New-York, 1892, pp. 336, and 36 colored plates, IX,) and in the various reports of the Department of Mining Statistics, and in the Heber R. Bishop Catalogue of Jade Collection. Wherefore, it is easy to conceive why a so intelligent a worker as Prof. William P. Blake should state at the International Congress of Americanists, which met at New-York, in December, 1902, when he presented a paper on the « Racial Unity of the historic and prehistoric peoples of the Southwest », with special reference to New Mexico and Arizona, and therein took occasion to reaffirm his views first published in 1858, as to the identity of the celebrated chalchihuitl of the ancient

(1) G. Kunz, *Gems and Precious Stones of North America*, 1892.
" *Report Dept., Mining Statistics, Washington, D. C.*, 1882 *to* 1905.
" *Gems and Precious Stones of Mexico*, International Geological Congress, Mexico City, August, 1906.
" *Gems and Jewelers Minerals of California Sacremento*, 8°., 164 pp.

Mexicans with the turquoise of the Southwest (1). This view is based upon the wide distribution throughout all that region of beads and mosaics of turquoise, upon the statements of the early Spanish travelers and chroniclers, and upon the abundant evidence of long and extensive aboriginal working at almost all the mines in our Southwestern States and Territories. Prof. Blake contests the view of the late eminent archæologist, Mr E. George Squier, that the word « chalchihuitl » was a general name for precious green stones that could be carved, but without any definite mineralogical distinction. His argument for turquoise is excellent and his view undoubtedly correct, but only in part. It is true for Northern Mexico, but not for the Southern region, where the recent researches have clearly shown that the ancient chalchihuitl is jade. For the evidences on this point, see under jade, particularly the recent studies of Mrs Zelia Nuttall on « chalchihuitl in Ancient Mexico ».

Turquoise in Mexico

For the first time the writer described a true turquoise locality which has been recently discovered in the territory of Mexico proper, in the State of Zacatecas (2). Some specimens were found accidently at a silver mine near the town of Bonanza, in 1903, by a lady interested in minerals, Mrs. V. M. Clement. She believed them to be turquoise and insisted on having them analyzed. Further mining for the gem has since been carried on at this place; but no statements are made as to any prehistoric workings there, as in New Mexico and Arizona.

Turquoise in South America

Mr. A. F. Bandelier, who has resided and explored for years past in the region of the Incas, in Peru and Bolivia, reports the finding of turquoise beads and encrusted work at various points where excavations have been made in ancient

(1) *Amer. J. Sci.*, (2) Vol. XXV. pp. 227-232.

(2) George F. Kunz, *Min. Res. U. S.* 1903, pp. 49 (reprint) *American Archæologist*, Vol. III, pp. 227.

ruins, along the coast and to some extent inland (¹), such objects are mentioned also by Antonio Raimondi, who has studied and written extensively in relation to Bolivian and Peruvian archæology and kindred topics, but neither he nor Dr. Bandelier has been able to find any clue to the source of this material, no turquoise localities being known anywhere in that entire region.

The Old Workings at Los Cerrillos

An extended account was given in 1903, of the great ancient turquoise mines at Los Cerrillos, N. M., by Mr. Douglas W. Johnson. The article gives a full discussion also of the petrography and geology of the mines with plates, analyses, and comprehensive data. The precise localities are carefully defined. The great old workings are on a small elevation known as Mt. Chalchihuitl, east of the Grand Central Mountain, which is the highest of the Cerrillos Hills. The principal workings are now on a parrallel ridgea little to the north-east, named Turquoise Hill. The old excavations, after being re-opened and worked for a time were abandoned for these others which proved more profitable. Old mines are found on the Turquoise Hill, but not so remarkable as those on Mount Chalchihuitl. Mr. Johnson confirms all the statements made by Prof. Wm. P. Blake, the first discovered, in 1858 (²) and by Prof. Benj. Silliman, in 1880, as to the enormous extent of the old workings, and their antiquity, as shown by the large trees that have grown on the dumps and in the pits. He fully believes in the tradition that these mines were abandoned in 1680, after a great fall of rock that caused heavy loss of life, and is believed to have also led to the insurrection in the same year against the Spaniards, and their expulsion from the country. Of this rock-fall, he says : « I was able to get far enough back through the debris of the slip to make out a part of the old roof of the cave formed by the overhanging cliff. It was still black from smoke of ancient fires, and served to give a very good idea of the extent of the great disaster. »

(1) George F. Kunz, *Min. Res. U. S.*, 1903, pp. 62 (reprint).
(2) *Am. J. Sci.*, (2) Vol. XXV, pp. 227-232
Id., (3) Vol. XXII, pp. 67-71.

Districts in New Mexico contain important mines; these are in the order of their modern discovery; (1) those at and near Los Cerrillos, in Santa Fe County; (2) in the Burro Mts., in Grant County; (3) at Old Hachita, Grant County; and (4) in the Jarrilla Mts., Otero County.

All the mines at these several localities show evidences of ancient working. In the reopening of the great excavations on Mt. Chalchihuitl, at Los Cerrillos, much ancient material was obtained; rude mining tools, pottery and stone hammers, one of which is said to have weighed 20 pounds, and to have retained part of a handle around the groove. These hammers are made from a horn-blende andesite, common in the Cerrillos Hills. Similar implements and tools are found at the mines and dumps in all the other districts. At one mine in the Burro Mountains (1), Mr. Fayette A. Jones, tells of having seen a relic that was evidently Spanish, — a crude pick, made of a sharp piece of iron, with a hole at one end, evidently to fit a handle. Mr. Jones thinks that the aboriginal Pueblos sometimes used pieces of malachite in their ornamental work, not distinguishing it from turquoise, and states that bits of malachite are not rarely met with in ancient grooves, and etc., associated with real turquoise.

Turquoise in Eastern U. S.

Turquoise has been described by the author at two widely distant localities in the United States, where it had not before been known or suspected to exist, namely in two of the Eastern States, Alabama and New Jersey (2). The former was announced in 1902, and the latter in 1904; the Alabama locality is in Clay County, about 95 miles east of Birmingham, the one in New Jersey, is near Somerville, in the workings of the American Copper Co. Both have yielded some good specimens, and at the Alabama locality a little mining has been done, but nothing important. There are no aspects of archæological interest at either of their points.

(1) *New Mexico Mines and Minerals, World's Fair Edition Sci. Publ. Co., N. Y.*, 1904, pp. 269-277.
G. F. Kunz, *Gems and Jewelers of California*.

(2) George F. Kunz, *Min. Res. U. S.*, (Rep. U. S. Geol. Sur.) 1902 pp. 61, and 1904, pp. 73 (reprints).

THE HEBER R. BISHOP COLLECTION AND CATALOGUE (1).

The unequaled collection of jade and jade articles made by the late Heber R. Bishop, of New-York, was presented by him in 1903 to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in that city. This was a truly princely gift and it is installed with great elegance in a room fitted up for the purpose by the donor, which is said by foreign architects to be the finest example of Louis XV th decoration in existence, excepting perhaps at Versailles or Potsdam. This magnificent collection is arranged and catalogued under three heads : — (1) mineralogical ; (2) archæological ; and (3) art objects, chiefly Chinese and East Indian. The first contains rough specimens, boulders, etc., from every continent except Africa. A number of European localities are represented, the most remarkable specimen perhaps being the great nephrite block weighing 4715 pounds (2140 kilog.) obtained by the writer in 1899, with numerous other specimens, at Jordansmuhl, Silesia, and described before the International Congress of Archæology, Paris, 1900. See also Centralblatt für Mineralogie and Palæontalogie 1902, pp. 335-39.

The archæological specimens date back largely to the Neolithic time, and are hence classed as prehistoric ; these include jade objects from Europe, Mexico, Central America, and China, mainly. Much of the material from British Columbia, Alaska, and New Zealand, is also prehistoric, but in those countries the use of jade implements has continued into modern times.

The art objects are of less remote antiquity, though many of them are quite ancient. A special class of them have been separated under the name of « tomb-jades, » consisting of a large series of Chinese carved objects deposited in sepulchres and graves, and altered in color by long burial. Some of these may be prehistoric, and others as late as modern times. The art

(1) G. F. KUNZ, *Rep. Dep. Mining Statistics*, 1903 ; pp. 26-29.
G. F. KUNZ, *The American Anthropologist, N. S.*, Vol. V, Jan.-Mar., 1903.
G. F. KUNZ, *The Printed Catalogue of the Heber R. Bishop Collection of Jade*. Occasional notes, No. 11, *Bulletin Metropolitan Museum of Art*, May, 1906.

objects proper are divided into carved jades, jeweled jades (this type is East Indian only), and jade flowers and fruits; in age they range from the Han dynasty (206 B. C. to 220 A. D.) down to the present day. A number of the finest pieces in this collection came from the loot of the imperial Summer Palace, near Peking, which was burned in the Anglo-French expedition of 1860.

The magnificent, illustrated catalogue of this collection, issued in 1905, is one of the most remarkable books ever published. It forms two immense folio volumes, 19 x 26 inches, filled with plates executed with the utmost care and elegance. Only 100 copies were printed, and none were sold, all being presented by the estate of Mr. Bishop to leading museums and royal personages.

The two volumes weigh 125 pounds — 52 kilograms. It is certainly the most notable catalogue of a collection in any branch of science on art, and leads in the class of such great illustrated books of the world as Audubon's « Birds of America »; Svenegrodskoi's « Byzantine Enamels » published in Russia; Gould's « Humming Birds »; the great illustrated catalogue of the « Chinese Porcelain » in the Walter's Collection, issued by Mr. Henry Walters; « The Antiquities of Russia » published by the Russian Government; « Gems and Precious Stones of North America »; and the « Catalogue of the J. P. Morgan Collection of Chinese Porcelains. »

During Mr. Bishop's visit to China and Japan in 1892, he met Sir Edwin Arnold and it was his suggestion that the author was invited to take charge of the scientific part of the book. The great collection started in 1886 with the purchase of a single piece, the Hurd vase, a green jade jar used as a brush holder, and purchased by M. Bishop of Tiffany & Co.

NEPHRITE

JADE, ALASKA. (1)

Among the minerals of the Pacific coast exhibited at the Lewis and Clark Exposition, held in 1905, at Portland, Oregon,

(1) G. F. Kunz, *Rep. Dept., Mining Statistics*, 1905, p. 36.

special interest attached to a series shown in the Tiffany exhibit, illustrating the green jade of that region. The specimens consisted of worked implements, — knives, celts, and hammers. It is now some years since Lieut. Stoney, U. S. N., succeeded in finding this material in place in Alaska, at a locality known as Jade Mountain, thereby disproving the theory advocated by some archæologists, that all the jade objects of the Pacific Coast must have been carried over from Asia.

The observations of Mr. H. E. Smith, below cited, in British Columbia, also give ample evidence as to native manufacture from material found there.

NEPHRITE

JADE, BRITISH COLUMBIA (1)

Mr. Harlan I. Smith has described a series of observations conducted by the Jesup North Pacific Exploring Expedition, upon prehistoric village and burial sites at and near Lytton, in British Columbia, at the junction of the Fraser and Thompson Rivers. Mr. Smith collected much interesting material, and notes among other stone implements the occasional occurrence of a light green, translucent mineral, apparently nephrite, wrought into thin, delicate celts. These range from 4 inches in length, 1 ½ inches in width, and only one-quarter inch in thickness, down to one inch in length, with the other dimensions proportionate. The grooves made in cutting them are visible in some examples, while in others, they have been polished out. Those collected show all the stages of manufacture from bowlders on the river bank that had been grooved by grinding or rubbing with thin slabs of siliceous sandstone, to selvage pieces thus produced and then broken off, and celts still showing the break-line, and finally those completely polished. Sandstone pieces or saws were obtained that fitted the grooves in the green stone. The whole account — bowlders, sandstone and all the steps — recalls with singular minuteness the New Zealand jade occurrence and use. No analyses of the mineral are given, so that it is not certain

(1) *Mem. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist.*, Vol. II, part 3, May, 1899.
G. F. Kunz, *Rep. Dept., Mining Statistics*, 1900, p. 45, reprint.

what the nephrite may prove to be here. The bowlders, of course, indicate its occurrence in place somewhere higher up in the course of the river. Mr. Smith says that the coast Indians are accustomed to use the celts, mounted as adzes, to smooth and finish boards that have been split out with wedges. Many wedges, made of the antler of elk, were among the implements associated with these specimens, and it is fairly presumable that the celts were used in the manner described.

JADEITE

JADE, GUATEMALA (1)

In 1904, Dr. Max Bauer, of the University of Marburg, described a number of prehistoric objects from Guatemala, made of jadeite and chloromelanite. After a detailed examination of all these specimens, chemically and microscopically, and of the inclusions of other minerals contained in them, he was unable to reach any positive conclusion as to their source, — whether made from material found in the vicinity or brought from a distance.

It may be said, however, that there seems no reason for any serious question on this point. Guatemala has furnished a great many objects made of jadeite, and it must undoubtedly exist there, perhaps in some abundance. The studies of Mrs. Nuttall, elsewhere referred to, show clearly that jade (chalchihuitl) was obtained at various points in southern Mexico, in the later Aztec times, and that several of those points were situated in the State of Chiapas, adjacent to the border of Guatemala. It appears probable that this jade region extends further south into Central America, on the Pacific side, at least, and that here is to be found the source of the numerous Guatemala specimens.

JADEITE

JADE, SOUTH AMERICA (2)

Dr G. F. Bandelier, an eminent anthropologist and explorer

(1) *Centralblatt Neues Jahrb. fur Miner.*, etc., 1904, pp. 65-79.
G. F. Kunz, *Rep. Dept. Mining Statistics*, 1904, p. 69.

(2) G. F. Kunz, *Rep. Department of Mining Statistics*, 1903, pp. 60-62.

in our own southwest and in Mexico, conducted an important series of investigations in 1904, in the Inca region of Peru and Bolivia, for the American Museum of Natural History. His report is of much interest, and his collections, sent to the Museum, are very extensive and valuable. Among the mineral objects which he obtained were a number of greenish beads, some of them quite large, which are apparently jade. They have not yet been determined, however, as to which species or variety of jade they represent : and some of them may prove to be only serpentine. No clue exists as to their source, as no locality of jade has been recognized anywhere in Peru or Bolivia.

JADEITE

JADE OBJECTS IN MEXICO [1]

Among the most important recent discoveries of jade objects in Mexico, was one made in the excavations at the Escalerillas in Mexico City, conducted during 1900 and 1901. The spot is adjacent to the cathedral, which stands near or upon the site of the great Aztec temple. Here were exhumed some 2000 beads of jadeite, also jadeite tablets, etc., with articles of obsidian and of copper.

JADEITE

CHALCHIHUITL JADE [2]

One of the most interesting and important contributions to the discussion regarding the mineralogical character of the celebrated Mexican chalchihuitl, has been made and published by Mrs. Zelia Nuttall. She took up the lists of towns recorded in the tribute-rolls of Montezuma, together with other Mexican and early Spanish accounts, and undertook to identify the places there mentioned, so far as possible, and then to classify the results. This was accomplished with unexpected success, and

(1) Exploration of Monte Alban, by Leopoldo Batres ; (Inspeccion y Conservacion de Monumentos Arqueologicos de la Rep. Mexicana), Mexico, 1902.

(2) *Amer Anthropologist*, Vol. III, 1901, pp. 227-238.
G. F. KUNZ, *Rep. Dept. Mining Statistics*, 1901, p. 31-33.

the facts brought out are perfectly clear and conclusive. They show that the precious chalchihuitl must have been found at numerous points in southern Mexico, where it was specified as tribute, and that these points can be grouped around several centers. Notwithstanding the changes of four centuries, about two-thirds of the ancient names can be well identified. These are in the States of Vera Cruz, Guerrero, Hidalgo, Puebla, and Chiapas, most of them lying south of the capital ; and the region of chalchihuitl as a whole being that part of Mexico south of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. The material itself is proved by analysis to be jadeite, and this article emphasizes the probability that search in the districts particularly indicated must lead to the rediscovery of the mineral. The tribute-rolls indicate that much of the chalchihuitl must have been obtained as rolled boulders, but that at a few points it may have been found in place.

The interesting controvery as to whether chalchihuitl was jade or turquoise is now seen to be a case of the old story of the golden or silver shield. The argument of Prof. Blake in behalf of turquoise is given under that mineral, and is correct for the northern region, where turquoise occurs and jade does not. The case is reversed in the south. It seems very clear that the view of so eminent an archæologist as the late Mr. Squier is correct, that the word denoted a highly valued green stone, with no exact mineralogical distinction. But we may now recognize that the name was applied especially to jade in Southern Mexico and to turquoise in northern Mexico. The old records, the Spanish narratives, the ancient workings, and the still lingering traditions, are abundantly clear as to the two minerals meant by chalchihuitl in the two different sections of the country (1).

JADE (NEPHRITE) IN SIBERIA (2)

The green nephrite, evidently also employed in Chinese art work, was first discovered in place in 1850, by Mr. J. P. Alibert, while seeking for the mines of graphite in Siberia, that have

---

(1) G. F. Kunz, *Rep. Dept. Mining Statistics*, 1901, p. 33.
(2) G. F. Kunz, *Rep. Dept. of Mining Statistics*, 1[illegible]0, p. 43-25.

since borne his name. He found a fine outcrop of it, on a stream called the Onot, and at once recognized the importance of the discovery. He has since furnished specimens to all the leading museums in Europe, and has tried in every way to bring the material to the notice of art-lovers and lapidaries. Not until the Paris Exposition of 1900, however, has there been any real attempt to develop the beautiful possibilities of this stone by European artists. But there both the French and the Russian sections had cases illustrating in large variety the elegant results obtained in polished and carved nephrite. The value of Mr. Alibert's discovery was abundantly shown, and the wisdom of his efforts to bring the stone into notice in Europe. Many of the worked pieces were of exquisite beauty and some of large dimensions, notably several thin polished sections of boulders two feet in diameter, in which the delicate tints of the veining and clouding were displayed in the translucent stone with remarkable effect. And the canopy for the tomb of Alexander II of Russia is being made of this material at Peterhoff.

Within a few years past, some other localities have been found in Siberia, on the Chara Jalga River, in a very wild and inaccessible region, by Prof. von Jascewski. Here he discovered not only the pale variety but also a fine deep green, never found in place in Siberia before.

BERYL IN NORTH CAROLINA (1)

In the North Carolina section of mineral products at the Charleston Exposition, in 1902, Dr. J. H. Pratt exhibited a crystal of golden beryl an inch-and-a-half in diameter and over 2 inches long, taken from an Indian mound near Tesanty Creek, Macon County, N. C. This place is not far from the Littlefield beryl mine, and it is supposed that this crystal must have come from that locality. This is the first noted occurrence of a beryl crystal in an Indian grave, in the United States; but the Butoendo Indians of Brazil used them for labrets.

(1) George F. KUNZ, *Gems and Precious Stones of North Carolina*, Raleigh, N. C. 1906 (now in press).

Ibid., KUNZ, *Mineral Resources of the United States*, 1901, page 25.

AGATIZED WOOD, ARIZONA (1)

Very full and careful accounts have been published within a few years past, of the wonderful petrified forest at Chalcedony Park, Arizona. Those of Prof. Lester F. Ward, of the U. S. National Museum, and Mr. James M. Pulver, Territorial Geologist of Arizona, are especially interesting, as this material was extensively used by the inhabitants of Arizona. The late Major J. W. Powell proposed the name of Ahinaruny for the group containing the agatized wood from the original name.

New localities are constantly reported by prospectors and cowboys, and it seems evident that the fossil trees are widely distributed throughout northern New Mexico and Arizona.

It would appear that this material was well known and highly valued among the Indians long before any whites had seen it, as many objects of use and ornament made from it — pestles, arrowheads, charms, etc. — are found from Zacatecas on the south to Wyoming on the north. The first white man who ever saw the locality is believed to have been Col. John W. Stedman, in 1851, who learned of it from some of the Zuñis. A year later Prof. Jules Marcou, with a party of United States surveyors, examined the spot and made collections and reports. In the year following Lieutenant Whipple reached and named his « Lithodendron Creek, » which must have been some part of the Chalcedony Park, although Dr. Ward, does not think that it was the main aroyo which he describes. From these reports of Government officers it became gradually known, though it was too remote for access by the tourist and the vandal until the opening of the railroad in 1880.

CHALCEDONY (2)

THE BORGIA CHALDEAN AGATE AXE

An object of great scientific interest is the famous inscribed

(1) See *Min. Res. U. S.*, (Rep. U. S. Geol. Surv.) for 1900, pp. 37-40, and 1901, pp. 39-42. — G. F. Kunz.
See also a full description in.
Gems & Precious Stones of North America, New-York 1890-1892.

(2) *Report Dept. Mining Statistics*, Washington D. C., 1902.
G. F. Kunz, *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History* New-York, April 1906.

Borgia Chaldean agate axe. This axe was obtained by the Cardinal Borgia while at the head of the Propaganda at Rome. The Contessa Ettore Borgia offered it to the British Museum some ten or twelve years ago, but at so extravagant a value (about £3,000 or £4,000 sterling) that it was returned to her. It was subsequently acquired, for some 15,000 lire, by the late Comte Michel Tysckiewicz, and is now in the Morgan collection of the American Museum of Natural History, New York. The age of the axe is variously attributed by Dr. W. Hayes Ward, Prof. Iva Maurice Price and Prof. J. Dyneley Prince and Dr. Robert Law as between 3000 to 1600 B. C. and of Babylonian origin.

The following extract is from Maspero :

« Elle se trouvait dans l'ancienne collection du Cardinal Borgia et appartenait, il y a quelques années, au Comte Ettore Borgia. Elle a été publiée par Stevens (Flint Chips, p. 115), et en fac-similé par F. Lenormant (Tre Monumenti Caldei ed Assiri delle Collezioni Romane, 1879, pp. 4-9, et pl. VI, I) ; et Carvailhac (Age de la Pierre en Asie), dans le troisième Congrès provincial des Orientalistes, tenu à Lyon (tom. I, pp. 321-332), a reproduit ce que Lenormant en avait dit. »

Obsidian [1]

The great obsidian locality in Mexico, at Pachuca, in the State of Hidalgo, was visited and examined in 1900 by Prof. W. H. Holmes of the U. S. National Museum, together with Prof. G. K. Gilbert and Mr. W. W. Blake. A full account of their visit was published in the American Antropologist, vol. II, N . 3.

The only previous examination of this remarkable locality was that made by Prof. E. B. Tylor, of Oxford University, about 1856, and described in his work called « Anahuac, or the Mexicans, Ancient and Modern. » The spot is one of great archæological interest, as being the principal source of the obsidian that is found so widely distributed all through Mexico and our own southwest, in the form of carved ornaments, mosaics, inlaid work, flaked implements, etc.

---

(1) *American Anthropologist*, July-Sept., 1900, pp. 405-416.
G. F. Kunz, *Rep. Dept., Mining Statistics*, 1900, pp. 47-49.

OBSIDIAN, NEW LOCALITY IN MEXICO.

A new locality of obsidian has been recently made known in Mexico, some 60 miles from the celebrated one at Pachuca. At the latter, as described in 1900 by Prof. W. H. Holmes, no outcrops of the obsidian could be seen, because all the excavations were so filled up and covered with fragments and debris. At the new locality, however, it is quite different; there are no indications of ancient working, and the outcrops are quite accessible. As described in letters to the writer by Mr. J. M. Hamilton, of Tequisquiapan, the obsidian appears in parellel " veins " (dikes?) from 6 inches to 2 feet wide. The colors are black, opalescent, green, and dark green with bands; when polished, it makes attractive ornaments, and should be capable of use in art work. The material is abundant at the locality, which is more accessible than the one at Pachuca; it is in the State of Queretaro, near the border of Hidalgo, on a range of low hills east of the San Juan river, between the crossing of that stream by the Mexican Central Railroad, at San Juan del Rio, and the National Railroad of Mexico, a few miles below. Suggesting that this locality may have furnished many of the objects used in ancient Mexico, the petrological character of the materials has yet been studied for comparison.

OBSIDIAN OBJECTS

Among recent discoveries in Mexico may be noted that of a very large and elaborately chipped obsidian knife, 32 inches in length. This was found in 1901, with a number of other objects, in the excavations at the Escalerillas, in Mexico city, close to the cathedral, which is believed to occupy the site of the great Aztec temple. Dr. H. M. Saville, of the American Museum of Natural history, who had the opportunity of observing the specimen at this time, believes that it was probably presented as a votive offering at the dedication of the temple.

AMBER, ST-DOMINGO (1)

An interesting discovery of amber has been made within a

(1) *Min. Res. U. S.*, 1903, p. 58; 1905, p. 33 (reprints).
G. F. Kunz, *Gems and Precious Stones*, p. 302.

few years in the Island of Santo Domingo; it has been described in detail in the author's report on Production of Precious Stones for 1903 and 1905. It appears to exist in considerable amount, and often in pieces of good size, suitable for making carved objects of much beauty. It possesses a fluorescence similar to that seen in some of the amber from Catania, Sicily.

A tradition exists in the island that the natives used to burn a substance of this kind in their religious rites, probably this very amber, and it is said that they do so still, burning all they can find. A similar fluorescent amber occurs in the interior of Mexico, associated with a similar tradition; and it is known that amber was thus used by the Aztecs in some of their temple rites, and that it was also employed probably for incense, in the early Catholic churches in Mexico, by the Spaniards. The coincidence in the two cases is highly interesting.

AMBER, ANCIENT JEWELRY

In the remarkable collection of amber and of articles made therefrom, gathered by Mr. William A. Buffum, and recently presented by him to the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, are some extremely fine specimens of ancient amber jewelry. Mr. Buffum was for a time U. S. consul at Trieste, and became interested in amber while aiding in some excavations at Palestrina, near Rome. Here he obtained some very choice examples of ancient amber work, which became the nucleus of his subsequent collection. These were especially some neaklaces of Greco-Etruscan type, referred to the fifth century B. C. The amber of which they are made has been usually regarded as of Baltic origin, but Mr. Buffum himself thinks it to be Sicilian, and verified this in part by repolishing many old strings of beads, bringing out the richest colors of amber ever seen.

CATLINITE (1)

An interesting exhibit of this celebrated material was made at the Pan-American Exposition, where a mantelpiece composed of the historic, and doubtless prehistoric pipestone was placed in

(1) G. F. Kunz, *Precious Stones and Mineral Resources of the U. S.*, 1902, p. 51.

the Minnesota State building and was much admired. It was made for the Chicago World's Fair in 1893 and was exhibited there; subsequently it became the property of the Woman's Historical Society of Pipestone, Minn., by whom it was lent for this occasion. It is to be placed permanently in the room occupied by that society in the new court-house at Pipestone. It is doubtful whether another such piece of work in this material can ever be obtained, as the land on which the quarry stands has been very properly set apart by the Government as a small reservation, to secure to the Indians of all tribes and for all time the access to and control of this venerated spot, and they guard it so jealously that large pieces for any work of this kind could not be had. The Indians come from all parts of the country to make pipes of peace from this sacred stone. The mantle was made and carved by a half-breed Indian who lives close by the quarry and manufactures articles for barter and sale. It was carved with appropriate allusions to Hiawatha and inlaid with other ornamental stones of the region.

Deux contes des Indiens Chontales

PAR M. LE COMTE DE CHARENCEY

M. de Charencey donne communication de deux contes recueillis par le savant américaniste M. F.-E. Belmar, chez les Indiens Chontales de l'Etat d'Oaxaca. L'un est intitulé « Quatorze forces », et l'autre « Jean Condren ». Sans doute ils ne sauraient prétendre à un origine purement indigène. L'influence européenne semble, chez eux, bien marquée. Quelques détails accusent un vague ressouvenir des vieilles traditions de l'Amérique précolombienne. Tels qu'ils sont, nous ne les croyons pas indignes d'appeler l'attention du folkloriste. N'est-ce pas, au point de vue ethnographique, un phénomène curieux que de constater avec quelle facilité, ces récits légendaires voyagent au loin tout en se modifiant suivant l'esprit des populations qui les adoptent ?

La nation Chontale occupe aujourd'hui une partie de l'Etat d'Oaxaca et notamment les districts de Yautepec et Téhuantepec. M. Francesco Belmar nous a donné une grammaire, un vocabulaire accompagnés de quelques textes indigènes de l'idiome parlé par ces Indiens. A la fin de l'ouvrage se trouvent deux contes (texte Chontal et traduction castillane). Sans doute ils n'offrent pas un caractère très particulier. Nous croyons bon néanmoins de les reprodûire ici parcequ'ils nous donnent une idée des modifications que subissent dans la bouche des narrateurs indiens certaines données d'origine sans doute Européenne.

QUATORZE FORCES

OU LE FILLEUL DU FRÈRE

Tel est le titre du premier des récits dont M. Belmar nous donne connaissance.

1 — Un homme eut l'idée de devenir parrain avec un Frère et s'en alla lui parler à ce sujet.

2 — Sitôt que le Frère eût accepté, il lui dit : dès que l'enfant naitra je suis à ta disposition.

3 — L'enfant à peine né, il s'en alla lui en donner avis et son Frère lui dit : il va falloir procéder au baptême, va chercher l'enfant.

4 — L'homme alla donc chercher son enfant et le Frère se demanda quel nom on donnerait à son filleul.

5 — Aucun des noms proposés ne lui ayant plu, il dit : mieux vaut l'appeler Quatorze Forces.

6 — Et on se rendit à l'église pour le baptême et l'enfant y reçut ce nom de Quatorze Forces.

7 — Et l'enfant devenait très-beau. Au bout de l'année il savait déjà marcher et bien parler.

8 — A l'âge de trois ans il fut admis dans l'église comme acolyte et commença à apprendre son catéchisme et ses prières.

9 — Ayant appris le tout en un instant, il ne tarda pas à se signaler par sa turbulence et à jouer avec ses camarades.

10 — A peine ceux-ci s'étaient-ils permis de le toucher qu'il leur distribuait des coups de poing et de bâton, si violents, qu'il les laissait à moitié morts.

11 — Les camarades tâchaient bien de lui rendre la pareille, mais ils n'avaient pas assez de force.

12 — Plus il grandissait et plus le filleul du Frère devenait robuste. Arrivé à l'âge de huit ans il ne trouvait personne en état de lutter contre lui.

13 — Et son pauvre père et sa pauvre mère s'étaient bien ennuyés de tous les désagréments que leur attirait la violence de leur fils. Bien des fois, en effet, le père avait comparu devant la justice, il avait été mis en prison et puni à cause de la conduite du jeune homme.

14 — Le père et la mère se résolurent donc à l'envoyer chez son parrain. Et celui-ci reçut bien volontiers son filleul.

15 — Quatorze Forces resta donc chez son parrain, deux années entières. Et il était arrivé ainsi à l'âge de dix ans. Mais on ne cessait d'adresser des réclamations au Frère à cause des frasques du jeune homme.

16 — A peine fut-il entré dans sa onzième année que les compagnons de ce dernier vinrent le provoquer et l'inviter à se battre contre eux.

17 — Ils s'étaient réunis trois plus grands que lui, mais il ne tarda pas à les mettre en pièces.

18 — Aussitôt le Frère fut demandé à la maison du Roi par la raison que son filleul venait de se rendre coupable de trois meurtres.

19 — Et le Frère dit : « qu'on aille le prendre, je ne nie pas que ce soit un grand criminel. »

20 — Et le Roi envoya vingt cinq soldats armés pour se saisir de Quatorze Forces, mais ils ne purent en venir à bout et c'est lui, au contraire, qui les assomma après leur avoir enlevé leurs armes.

21 — Et le Roi dit : « Restons-en là, car nous ne parviendrons jamais à nous en rendre maîtres. » Et il en fut ainsi.

22 — Quatorze Forces resta deux ans encore avec son parrain jusqu'à ce qu'il eût terminé sa douzième année.

23 — Un des compagnons du Frère étant venu sur les entrefaites le visiter, la conversation tomba sur son filleul. Le compagnon dit à son parrain : « Ne serait-il pas bon de causer une telle peur à ton filleul qu'il en meure, car réellement il en a trop fait. »

24 — Le parrain répondit : « je ne demanderais pas mieux, mais il n'y a pas moyen. Dites-moi donc un peu comment faire pour effrayer un être aussi robuste et aussi intelligent ? »

25 — Et l'autre Frère dit : « Laisse-moi agir, j'ai mon idée. Envoie-le au milieu de la nuit et dis-lui de sonner les douze coups de minuit, moi je me tiendrai assis au-dessus de la cloche avec un accoutrement noir qui me rendra horrible à voir. »

26 — Et le parrain accepta la proposition. Il dit à son filleul. « Va, Quatorze Forces, et sonne à la cloche les douze coups de minuit. »

27 — L'autre répondit : « oui M. mon parrain, j'y vais de suite. » Quatorze Forces se rendit donc au clocher et sitôt arrivé se mit à sonner la cloche.

28 — Et le visiteur qui s'était caché commença à pousser de grands cris. Et il recommençait à chaque coup de cloche.

29 — Quatorze Forces lui dit : « Est-ce que tu crois m'effrayer? je me moque de toi et saurai bien te faire taire ».

30 — En même temps il lui décochette un coup tel que le visiteur tomba et se fracassa sur le sol.

31 — Quatorze Forces recommença à sonner et quand il eut fini il retourna chez lui. Il dit à son parrain : « Sitôt que j'ai eu donné mon premier coup de cloche j'ai aperçu une espèce de revenant assis au-dessus de la cloche et qui jetait des cris lugubres, je lui dis : « qui es-tu donc, sorte d'épouvantail? Je n'ai pas peur de toi. Alors je lui donnai un coup qui le fit tomber à terre où il se brisa en morceaux. »

32 — Le parrain fut très affligé d'avoir été cause de la mort de son compagnon et de grand matin il alla prendre son corps. Et le parrain dit dans son cœur « Ce filleul mérite d'être condamné, voilà plusieurs personnes qu'il met à mort et il a tué même un Frère, je vais donc l'envoyer en enfer voir s'il pourra lutter contre les diables. »

33 — Le jour suivant, le parrain écrivit un mot pour le Prince des Démons et dit à son filleul : « va me faire une commission dans l'autre monde, en enfer.

34 — Et Quatorze Forces, répondit : « Comment donc, parrain, je vais de suite où vous m'envoyez. »

35 — Et il s'en alla tout guilleret avec la lettre. Et arrivé en enfer il la fit remettre au Prince des Démons. Celui-ci prit connaissance de l'acte de justice qu'on demandait de lui.

36 — Et le Diable dit à ses disciples : « Enfants, emparez-vous de cette personne, qu'elle soit mise en prison pour l'éternité, avec trois paires de chaînes aux pieds. »

37 — Et les diables essayèrent de saisir le coupable pour l'emprisonner. Et Quatorze Forces dit : « Est-ce donc moi qu'on veut mettre au cachot? et si mon parrain m'a dit de venir porter cette lettre, il ne m'a pas du tout prescrit de me laisser mettre au cachot par vous. »

38 — Et il commença à se battre avec les diables, leur

donnant force coups de poings sur le nez. Ceux-ci tombaient et se relevaient aussi rapides que l'éclair. Ils avaient l'air de vrais lézards, mais jamais ils ne purent se rendre maîtres de leur adversaire pour l'emprisonner.

39 — Alors Quatorze Forces dit au Prince des Diables : « allons vite donne réponse à la lettre que je t'ai apportée, sans cela tu auras affaire à moi. »

40 — Le Roi des diables se laissa tomber de peur et aussitôt le monde se mit à trembler.

41 — Et le Diable répondit en ces termes, à la lettre qu'il avait reçue « On ne peut venir à bout de ce jeune homme d'aucune façon, ni en enfer ni sur terre, jusqu'à ce que le Père Eternel en décide autrement. »

42 — « Mieux vaut l'établir, lui monter son ménage et surtout que personne désormais ne lui cherche affaire. »

43 — Quatorze Forces s'en alla tout joyeux avec sa réponse. Il la porta aussitôt chez son parrain et il lui raconta tout ce qui s'était passé.

44 — Il lui dit : « Parrain, sitôt la lettre remise, ils ont voulu me jeter en prison, j'ai eu à lutter contre les Diables qui s'attaquaient à moi, j'en ai blessé plusieurs, je les ai étrillés comme il faut et je les ai traînés comme des lézards. »

45 — Le Frère exécuta tout ce qu'indiquait la réponse, il établit Quatorze Forc[illegible] lui monta un ménage.

46 — [illegible]atorze F[illegible]s mourut ensuite d'une mort paisible et une foule considérab[illegible] assista à ses derniers moments.

JUAN CLAPI

OU JEAN CENDRE

---

1 — Une femme avait un fils appelé Jean, il était très mou, ne sortait jamais d'auprès de la cheminée et on le voyait toujours couvert de cendre.

2 — C'est pourquoi on l'appelait Jean Cendre. Il ne faisait jamais rien de ce qu'on lui disait. Il ne quittait jamais la cendre sur laquelle il était assis.

3 — C'est là qu'il mangeait, là qu'il dormait, il ne sortait qu'un moment pour vaquer à ses nécessités naturelles et retournait à sa place d'habitude, la tête et le corps tout couvert de cendre.

4 — On avait beau le gronder et le battre il ne quittait pas le foyer. Sa mère se fatigua de le battre et de lui donner des conseils et finit par le laisser tranquille.

5 — Il finit cependant par devenir un grand garçon de dix-huit ans, mais sans songer en rien à changer ses habitudes.

6 — Un jour Jean Cendre entend dire qu'une jeune fille était demandée en mariage à ses parents par divers partis, mais les parents ne voulaient pas laisser leur fille se marier. En effet, disaient-ils, c'est notre unique enfant et si son mari nous l'enlève qui s'occupera dorénavant de nous? Nous resterons seuls. Mieux vaut ne répondre à aucune proposition et laisser les choses dans l'état. »

7 — Jean Cendre ayant donc appris que les parents ne voulaient donner leur fille en mariage à qui que ce fût parcequ'il ne leur resterait plus personne pour leur venir en aide, chercha comment il pourrait obtenir la main de la Demoiselle.

8 — Il y avait dans la cour de la maison de la jeune personne un arbre de mesquite. Jean Cendre s'avisa de monter jusqu'au haut de l'arbre et commença à crier comme un hibou. Ayant répété ces cris trois fois il s'écria : « Ta fille mourra si elle n'épouse pas Jean Cendre. » Trois fois de suite il répéta les mêmes paroles.

9 — Sitôt que le père et la mère l'eurent entendu, Jean Cendre descendit en cachette de l'arbre et s'en retourna chez lui.

10 — Le père et la mère se sentirent tout affligés à l'idée que leur fille mourrait, si elle ne se mariait pas avec Jean Cendre. De grand matin la mère dit à son mari : « Va t'en donc à la maison de Jean Cendre car si notre fille ne l'épouse pas elle mourra certainement. En effet, l'animal qui a crié cette nuit ne ment point et tout ce qu'il dit est vrai. » Il ne savait pas, en effet, que c'était ce Jean Cendre qui avait crié.

11 — Le père et la mère s'informèrent donc où était l'habitation de Jean Cendre, à peine arrivés on le rencontra assis sur le foyer, le corps et la tête pleins de cendre. Aussitôt le père

lui adressa la parole disant : « c'est sans doute toi qui es Jean Cendre » ?

L'autre répondit de suite « Oui Monsieur, votre serviteur, que me voulez-vous ? »

12 — Le père reprit : « Je viens vous voir, excusez ma démarche, je voudrais que vous épousiez ma fille ; sans cela elle mourra pour sûr, c'est ce que m'a annoncé hier au soir un hibou. Je viens donc vous dire clairement ce qui en est et vous chercher. »

13 — Jean répondit, tout en faisant l'ignorant : « Ah Monsieur, je suis bien pauvre et n'ai pas de quoi entretenir votre fille. »

14 — Le père répondit : « Ne t'inquiète pas de cela, j'ai de quoi subvenir à votre entretien à tous les deux, l'important c'est que ma fille ne meure pas. »

15 — Jean Cendre se rendit donc à la maison de ses beaux parents et il épousa de suite la jeune personne. On eut soin de lui faire prendre un bain et de l'habiller convenablement. Au bout de trois jours le nouveau marié s'en retourna chez lui sans prendre congé de sa femme. Celle-ci alla donc le rechercher.

16 — Elle le trouva enfin de nouveau assis sur le foyer le corps tout couvert de cendre. Elle l'emmena et l'obligea de nouveau à prendre un bain.

17 — Il resta quelque temps dans la maison de ses beaux parents. Enfin on le laissa retourner chez lui sans se mettre en peine de le suivre. Sitôt arrivé à son ancienne demeure, Jean Cendre vit arriver un grand nombre de voyageurs juste en face de chez lui.

18 — Jean Cendre épia l'instant où ils allèrent mettre leurs bêtes dans la prairie. Sitôt la nuit arrivée, il appela toutes les bêtes qui étaient dans cette prairie. Elles consistaient en quatre-vingts mulets. Il les dirigea vers l'extrémité d'une colline où il les cacha.

19 — Sitôt le matin arrivé, les muletiers revinrent chercher leurs bêtes, mais sans parvenir à en trouver trace. Ils eurent beau continuer leurs investigations, ce fut toujours sans résultat.

20 — Au bout de trois jours, Jean Cendre dit à un de ses voisins : « allez prévenir les muletiers qu'ils se rendent chez

moi. Sans doute je pourrai deviner où sont les animaux perdus. »

21 — Au bout de trois jours, les muletiers, très tristes de la disparition de leurs animaux, virent arriver un messager qui leur dit : « allez donc voir Jean Cendre, cet homme pourra vous dire où sont vos mulets. » Les muletiers se rendirent donc à la maison de Jean Cendre et furent tout surpris de le voir ainsi couvert de cendre. Ils se dirent entre eux : « quel est donc ce devin ? » Ils commencèrent à lui demander, s'il pourrait leur dire où étaient les animaux égarés. Jean Cendre leur répondit : « Revenez demain matin, je ferai cette nuit mon métier de devin. »

22 — De grand matin, le jour suivant, les muletiers retournèrent voir Jean Cendre qui leur dit : « Je sais où sont vos animaux perdus, mais avant de les reprendre il faut que l'on me paie trois cents livres à l'instant même. Les muletiers répondirent : « Et bien soit, l'important c'est que nous retrouvions nos bêtes ».

23 — L'autre leur répondit : « Versez-moi d'abord la somme demandée, je ne vous dirai rien que je ne l'aie reçue. »

24 — Les muletiers payèrent donc la somme en question à Jean Cendre, qui leur répondit : « prenez donc le chemin de ce coteau, marchez jusqu'à atteindre la cime de la colline, ensuite vous descendrez un peu, vous arriverez à une plaine où sont vos animaux. On peut ajouter foi à tout ce que je dis, car tout ce que je dis est rigoureusement vrai. »

25 — Voici donc les muletiers en route. Après être arrivés jusqu'au sommet de la colline, ils atteignent la plaine où se trouvaient toutes les bêtes, aussi regardèrent-ils Jean Cendre comme un grand Devin et furent très heureux de retrouver leurs animaux sans se douter que c'était lui-même qui les avait cachés.

26 — Jean Cendre continua son métier de Devin avec succès. Enfin le Roi ayant entendu parler de lui, le fit appeler, car il désirait beaucoup rencontrer un homme véritablement capable de deviner.

27 — Jean Cendre se rend donc à l'ordre du Roi. Une fois arrivé en sa présence, il le salua et lui dit : « Comment va votre Sacrée Majesté ? Avec la faveur de Dieu puisse-t-elle bien

se porter! Sacrée Majesté je suis venu pour me conformer à votre intention. »

28 — « C'est vous reprit le Roi qui vous appelez Jean Cendre ? L'autre a dit : « Oui, Sire, pour vous servir. » Et le Roi commença à l'interroger en lui disant : « Tu es devin? » — « Oui, Sire, quelque peu. » Le Prince ajouta : Et bien voici un point où j'ai besoin de recourir à tes lumières. »

29 - Je voudrais que tu me dises où est le précieux collier qu'a perdu ma fille? C'est bien, Sire, mais je ne peux pas répondre de suite, il me faut un peu de temps, d'ici trois ou quatre jours je serai renseigné pour sûr.

30 — Le Roi dit : « c'est bon » - On enferma donc Jean Cendre seul dans une chambre où il était comme prisonnier. Seuls y entraient des serviteurs dont trois étaient nègres - Le premier jour, un de ces nègres vint lui porter à déjeuner. Sitôt qu'il parut, Jean reprit : « Bien en voilà un ». Le noir une fois de retour, ses compagnons lui demandèrent ce qu'avait dit Jean Cendre. « Sitôt que je fus entré, répondit-il, il m'a dit bien en voilà un ». Le jour d'après, ce fut le tour d'un autre nègre à porter à manger à Jean. A peine ce domestique fut-il entré, que Jean s'écria : « Bien en voilà deux ». Le troisième jour ce fut le tour du dernier nègre et quand ses compagnons lui demandèrent ce qu'avait dit Jean, il répondit : « Ce qu'il a dit, le voilà : Dieu soit béni, en voilà trois ».

31 — Et les nègres se sentirent fort effrayés, car c'étaient eux qui avaient dérobé le collier et ils se dirent l'un à l'autre : que faire maintenant que nous voici découverts? Le mieux, puisqu'il est encore temps, c'est d'aller voir le Devin pour nous enquérir comment éviter la potence. Ils allèrent donc trouver Jean et lui confessèrent leur larcin.

32 — Jean leur répondit : « Si chacun de vous me paie cent livres, je chercherai un moyen de vous sauver ». Les nègres allèrent aussitôt chercher cette somme. Et aussitôt Jean leur dit : N'y a-t-il pas ici quelque animal auquel on tienne beaucoup? Les nègres reprirent : il y a ici un canard auquel la Princesse est très attachée. Eh bien, dit Jean, allez le chercher, ouvrez-lui le bec et introduisez-y le collier de manière à ce qu'il le porte.

34 — Allez donc, dépêchez-vous car voici le moment du lever du Roi et il va me demander de deviner. — S'il ordonne

d'aller chercher le canard, qu'on le fasse sans crainte, comme cela vous sera prescrit.

35 — Il était alors à peu près neuf heures du matin. Le roi lui dit : « Jean, as-tu deviné, retournes-tu, oui ou non, le collier » ? — « Je l'ai retrouvé, Sacrée Majesté » — « Qui donc l'avait volé » ? — « Sire, ce n'est personne, le canard l'a avalé quand ta fille est allée se baigner dans l'étang. Elle ne s'est aperçue de rien et actuellement le collier se trouve dans l'estomac du canard. »

36 — Le Roi ne voulait pas qu'on tuât cet oiseau auquel il était très attaché. Mais Jean Cendre maintint son dire et exigea qu'on le tuât pour prouver qu'il avait bien deviné.

37 — Le Roi fit donc tuer l'oiseau — On lui ouvrit le ventre, on examina ses entrailles et on y rencontra le collier. Mais le roi peu content de la mort de cet animal, proposa autre chose à deviner à Jean.

38 — Avant de le payer de ses services il fit remplir une cuvette d'excréments que l'on fit recouvrir, puis il prescrivit à Jean de lui dire ce que contenait l'ustensile en question.

39 — Et ce dernier lui répondit : Ah Sire, quand j'ai sorti de chez moi quel Devin tu seras — tu seras un Devin de..... Aussitôt on découvrit la cuvette — Et le roi crut fermement que Jean était un Devin — il lui fit verser à l'instant dix mille livres

Et ce dernier retourna à son village où il vécut très heureux en compagnie de sa femme.

Inutile de faire ressortir le peu d'originalité des données dans ces deux récits. Les amateurs de Folklore auront déjà remarqué qu'elles se retrouvent à peu près toutes les mêmes dans divers récits Européens. Un seul détail pourrait trahir sa provenance indigène, c'est celle du message adressé au Prince de l'enfer. L'historien Tézozomac nous représente déjà Montezuma effrayé de l'arrivée des Espagnols envoyant des Messagers au Prince du pays des morts, chez lequel il songeait à se retirer avec sa cour.

NOTES ON THE

PONKA GRAMMAR

PAR FRANZ BOAS

The following notes on the grammar of the Ponka language are the result of the work of a seminar class conducted by me at Columbia University. Miss Martha W. Beckwith, Mr. Albert B. Lewis, and Mr. R. A. Lowie participated in this work. The subjects treated relate particularly to the article, the pronoun, and the composition of the verb. The material from which these grammatical notes were derived are the Ponka texts by James Owen Dorsey, published in the Sixth Volume of the *Contributions to North American Ethnology*. In explanatory notes of the texts a few hints as to the grammar of the language are given, and these have been utilized. The page and line references in the following notes refer to this volume. Owing to the limited facilities of the printing office ¢ has been used for the sonant *th*, italics for the media of p, t, k, s.

In the possession of the Bureau of Ethnology there is a manuscript grammar of the Ponka language by the late Mr. Dorsey, written, however, before he had mastered the language as thoroughly as he had at the time of the publication of his texts. The texts themselves give evidence that some of his views regarding the structure of the language changed during the process of printing the volume.

I have had the privilege of consulting the manuscript by Mr. Dorsey, but no material changes were made in the notes contained in this paper, which were compiled independently from Mr. Dorsey's manuscript.

The relation of the Ponka to the Dakota is interesting in many ways. The fundamental traits of grammatical structure of the two languages are the same ; and there is abundant

evidence of regular changes of sounds, which were discussed by Mr. Dorsey in his paper on the *Phonology of Siouan Languages*, published in 1883 ([1]). We find in both the same extensive use of the article which is placed after the noun, a strong tendency to phonetic changes in the end of the word whenever there is a close syntactic connection between two words of a sentence; the same division of intransitive and transitive pronouns; the pronouns appear prefixed and infixed; they are practically confined to the first and second person singular, and the inclusive dual; similar types of contraction in the pronouns of the transitive verb occur; in the composition of the verb, the same groups of prepositional and adverbial prefixes occur; also similar classes of irregular verbs may be recognized in both dialects; and we find even that the same verbs appear as irregular verbs in both dialects. The particles of both dialects show the same tendency to the development of separate forms for the use of men and of women.

Notwithstanding these far-reaching similarities, there are a number of fundamental differences. The Ponka is in every respect richer in grammatical forms than the Dakota, which is in its present state an exceedingly simple language. The great wealth of forms of the article is phenomenal, while in the Dakota only present and past are distinguished. The Ponka makes a clear distinction between animate and inanimate objects, and each of these classes is again differentiated according to form. For example, in the inanimate gender, straight and horizontal, straight and upright, rounded, and a collection of objects, are distinguished. While in Dakota there is no differentiation of the subject and object of the sentence, the animate forms in Ponka have a separate case for the syntactic object; in the animate subject, motion, rest, and plurality are distinguished. In the object the same differences occur; but in the animate object at rest a distinction is made between standing and sitting positions. A few of the forms used with animate nouns are not true articles, but are verbs which have their parallels in Dakota verbal forms expressing position and form

(1) See *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1883*.

of the object to which they refer, as standing, lying, sitting, etc.

The phonetic changes expressing closeness of syntactic connection are only partly analogous in the two languages. In both, elision of terminal vowel and modification of terminal vowel occur, as well as modification of terminal consonants. It seems, however, that Dakota alone has an extended use of modification of initial consonants after modified vowels.

The number of irregular verbs is also much greater in Ponka than in Dakota. While in the latter dialect, the principal class of irregular verbs are those beginning with y, we have in Ponka verbs beginning in ç, g, b, d, i, and u ; all deviating from the regular usage. Among these, the verbs beginning in ç correspond to the verbs in y of Dakota. The use of the indirect pronouns is also more irregular in Ponka than in Dakota.

Detailed information on the various points of grammar investigated are given in the following pages.

ARTICLES

I. INANIMATE ARTICLES (ke, te, ça^{n}, ge)

1. – ke is used regularly of horizontal objects.

Examples :

tande ke, the ground (24,4)
ma^{n}xe ke, the sky (26,4)
ní ke, the water [i.e. stream] (555,1)
u'a^{n}be ke, the cradle (560,14)
wahí ke, the bone (564,8)
*p*ahí ke, the neck (564,10)
jíbe ke, the leg (564,10)
uhé ke, the path (566,6)
tí ke, a line of lodges (280,7)
ma^{n} ke, the arrow (50,6)
sí ke, the foot (35,3)
mácan ke, the feather (52,8)
*p*ahé ke, a long hill (28,11)
niaci^{n}ga ke, a line of dead persons (10,7).

The following animate nouns appear used with the inanimate article ke

wés'a ke, the snake (27.1)

ciñgajiñga ke, a child lying down (560.13). In this case, the child being dead, the article may refer to the body of the child stretched out.

Peculiar is the expression

a^{n}ba ke, the day (611,6).

2. (*a*) te is used regularly with standing objects.

Examples :

*t*i te, the lodge (555,17)
qçabé te, the tree (277,2)
*t*ijebe te, the door (46,12)

(*b*) te is used to express plurality and collectivity of inanimate terms. According to Dorsey it expresses in this sense a single rectilinear collection of horizontal objects. This idea, however, is not brought out clearly in the examples.

Examples :

*k*ande te, the plums (559,4)
*t*e-ánita te, animal limbs (565,1)
sihí te, the feet (570,9)
cíbe te, the entrails (279,4)
wáçaha te, the clothing (559,12)
çéze te, the tongues (123,12)
*p*á te, the heads (123,12)
máca^{n} te, the feathers (26,19)
gúda te, that (pile) yonder (33,16)
waci^{n} te, pile of fat (33,18)
uma^{n}e te, provisions (10,11)

(*c*) te denotes abstract nouns.

Examples :

t'éce te, the killing (16,8)
íwacka^{n} te, strength (611,3)
waji^{n} te, disposition (583,2)
íe te, the word (667,14)
waçíta^{n} te, work (699,2)

(*d*) te denotes acts « as past and as seen by the speaker » (see note 246,6, p. 250).

Examples :

gáxe te, he did the [act] (554,13)
i^{n}ja^{n} te, he lay for me (561,1)
gí'a^{n}i te, he did to him (583,7)
wai^{n} te, he wore as a robe (595,17)
húta^{n} te, he cried out (600,14)
átai te, he exceeded (609,1)
agíaçaí te, they went for him (246,6)

3. (*a*) ça^{n} denotes rounded objects.

Examples :

u*k*ía^{n} ça^{n}, the snare (13,12)
mi^{n} ça^{n}, the sun (13,12)
ictá ça^{n}, the eye (171,7)
nackí ça^{n}, the head (91,6)
waqi^{n}ha ça^{n}, paper (773,1)
*t*íi ça^{n}, the camp circle (16,13)
*p*áhe ça^{n} the (round) hill (15,3)
hi^{n}bé çan, the moccasin (279,:2)
maja^{n} ça^{n}, the land (508,12)

(*b*) ça^{n} denotes part of an object.

Examples :

bacaⁿ çaⁿ, the bent part (598,8)
sindéhi çaⁿ part of the rump bone (611,5)
indé çaⁿ, face part (624,10)
waiiⁿ hahäge çaⁿ, the part of a buffalo hide, towards the feet (469,7)

4. — ge denotes a collection of scattered objects.

Examples :

*t*enande ge, buffalo hearts (33,4)
waciⁿ ge, pieces of fat (572,2)
*t*at'iⁿxe ge, (scattered) scum (593,9)
wahí ge, bones (278,16)
mi*k*äha ge, raccoon skins (559,3)
naⁿza ge, fences (735,7)

II. — ANIMATE ARTICLES (aká, amá, taⁿ, çiⁿ, çiñke, çañka).

Animate articles have distinct forms for syntactic subject and object :

A. — *Subjective Animate Articles* (aká, amá)

1. aká denotes the animate singular subject at rest (See note 633,3 ; p. 634.

Examples :

Ictínike aká íkiçá-biamá, Ictínike awoke, it is said (549,4)
*t*açniñge aká « tsí-tsi-tsí ! » á-biamá, the chipmunk said « tsi-tsi-tsi, » it is said (549,9)
waiⁿ aká . . . agí-biamá, the robe [considered as possessed of voluntary action] had returned (549,6)
á-biamá U*s*ní aká, the cold said (9.6)
*p*áhe-wáçahuni aká íbahaⁿ'—biamá, the hill that devours knew him, it is said (32,6)

With numerals aká is used in a plural sense :

çábçiⁿ aká, the three (164,14)

2. — (*a*) amá denotes the animate singular subject in motion.

Examples :

macteiñge-iⁿ amá çe amáma, the rabbit was going, it is said (9,1)

Ictínike amá açá-bi, Ictínike, went, it is said (549,1)

jábe amá niá*t*a açá, beaver went to the water (553,10)

ki wíuhe amá wa'ú, and the woman was following close behind (615,15)

amá is also used where the predicate does not express motion, but when the subject is conceived as moving.

içádi amá ígi*p*ahaⁿ — biamá, it is said his father recognised him (610,18)

á-biamá macteiñⁿge-iⁿ amá, rabbit said, it is said (10,2)

(*b*) amá denotes the animate plural subject, both at rest and in motion.

Examples :

wajiñga amá giaⁿ açá-biamá, the birds wentflying, it is said (588,3)

e-naⁿ-biamá níaciⁿga amá, the people said often, it is said (574,9)

Pañka amá agçíi, the Ponka have come back (723,2)

Umáha amá uçúgigçaí, the Omaha are sorrowful for their relation (772,4)

níkagáhi amá gíça-bajíi, the chiefs are sad (649,2).

B. — *Objective Animate Articles* (taⁿ, çiⁿ çiñke, çañka).

1. taⁿ denotes the animate, singular object standing.

Examples :

nújiñga taⁿ é wagiká-bi, the boy meant that his own (556,2)

cicte, héga çétaⁿ, fie ! this buzzard ! (549,5)

*t*e-díxe taⁿ . . . najiⁿ, a scabby buffalo was standing (582,5)

cyú cétaⁿ kída-ga, shoot at this prairie chicken (117,19)

2. — çiⁿ denotes the animate, singular object moving.

Examples :

dádaⁿ çiⁿ *p*ixaⁿ çiⁿ áhaⁿ ! I'll blow that into the air (575,7)

qiçá çiⁿ cetaⁿamá, the eagle was that far, it is said (581,3)

edádaⁿ çiⁿ etewaⁿ t'éçe-naⁿ' — biamá, whatsoever he usually killed, it is said (586,6)

wiʇande çiⁿ açiⁿ gíi — ga, bring my son-in-law here (589,3)

níaciⁿga çiⁿ wasísige áhaⁿ! he is active! (9,14)

níaciⁿga çiⁿ içát'abçé ha, I hate that person (13,9)

ʞáxe çiⁿ edíhi, the crow reached there (599,8)

çiⁿ is sometimes used with generic or collective terms.

wanita çiⁿ, the quadrupeds (628,6)

Pañka çiⁿ, the Ponka (748,9)

3. — ma denotes the animate, plural object. This form is regularly printed as a suffix. The examples, however, do not indicate that it differs in character from the other articles

Examples:

waníta -ma wébaⁿ-biamá, it is said, he called to the animals (571,5)

ʇañgá-ma áçutaⁿ waçizá-bi aⁿ, he took the large ones at once, it is said (578,4)

wajinga-má wébaⁿ - biamá, it is said they called the birds (580,1)

wajinⁿga-ma. . míwaji . . he put the birds in his belt (586,4)

níkaciⁿga-ma watcígaxe ewékaⁿ bça, I wish the people to dance (601,5)

wagáqçaⁿ — ma wiⁿ, one of the servants [obj.] (616,2)

wáqe - ma úckaⁿ eʇaí ke aⁿçaⁿbahaⁿ - báji, we do not know the customs of the white people (629,2)

níkaciⁿga-ma çé -ma ckaⁿ maⁿçiⁿ — ma waʇaⁿbe ha, I have seen these people walking about (756,1)

4. — çiñké denotes an animate singular object in sitting position.

Examples:

jábe çiñkédi bçé táce. I must go to the beaver (552,2)

égiçe iʇañge çiñké waqpániqtiaⁿ çiñké amá, and behold, his sister was very poor (144,18)

wa'ú çiñké ená-qtci ucté amá, only the women remained, it is said (11,5)

5.— çañká' denotes the animate plural object, in sitting position.

Examples :

uíça-biamá Ictínike aká níaciⁿga çañká, it is said, Ictínike told the persons (64,17)

ijiñge çañk é wawagiká — biamá, meaning his sons, it is said (100,4)

akíçaha mactiñge çañka wiⁿ wa'i-ga ha, give them one of the rabbits (119,16)

é wa'ú çañká úwakie gaⁿçai te, he desired to talk to the women (624,3)

wágají cínudaⁿ çañká, he commanded the dogs (111,8)

Note. — These two forms çiñké and çañká are not true articles, although they seem to perform their function. They are true verbal forms, as is proved by the occurrence of the pronominal forms

1st person singular miñke

2nd " " niñke 2nd person plural nañka

Examples :

bçé tá minke, I who will go (13,4)

pí tá miñke, I who will arrive there (496,2)

Pãçiⁿ níkagáhi nañkáce, ye who are Pawnee chiefs (685,3)

It would seem that these forms correspond to the Dakota verbs yañká, wañká.

III. — Indefinite Article (wiⁿ).

Examples :

caaⁿ wiⁿ, a Dakota (367,8)

níaciⁿ ga wiⁿ, a person (267,1)

wa'ú wiⁿ, a woman (166,1)

taⁿwañgçaⁿ tañgáqti wiⁿ, a very large village (166,14)

DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

The most common demonstrative pronouns are çe, ce, gá and é. The first three of these are very often followed by the article and, in this case they are always printed in the texts as one word, although there is apparently no difference between the use of the article with the demonstrative and that with

nouns. Demonstratives also take enclitic adverbial terms in the same way as nouns and in these cases also the demonstrative and the adverb appear in print as one word. The demonstrative « e » does not seem to be followed by the article. As in Dakota they form part of a few verbs.

1. — çe refers to what is near the speaker.

Examples :

çe égimaⁿ, I do this (9,6)
çe aⁿ ctaⁿ bai te, this (is) as you see me (26,14)
çéaká çábçiⁿ zaní t'éwaçá biama, it is said, he killed all three of these (46,16)
çéamá naⁿcipaí, these fear thee (23,17)
çéma djúba, these few ! (28,9)
haⁿ çeqtci agí/aⁿbe kaⁿbça. I desire to see mine this very night (367,5)
çégaⁿ and, thus they say (35,2)

2. — cé refers to what is near the person addressed.

Examples :

cé égijaⁿ, you do that (26,14)
cé uçaí', you told him that (26,19)
ce wiwí/a, that my own (89,4)
céaká macteiñge-i aka *p*áde wágaji, that rabbit told us to cut it up (23,10)
céçiñke kída-ga, shoot at that ! (109,1)
céçu, there where you are (640,4)
majaⁿ ce/a çaⁿ, the land yonder by you (487,7)

3. — gá refers to the unseen, also to what follows ; it designates probably originally what is near the person spoken of.

Examples :

gá /aⁿbe tá, I shall see that (28,2)
gáge hnáte tai-éde, you should have eaten those (28,10)
gániñke házi çíçade taí, (that) you shall be called grapes (550,7)
gáçiⁿ Háxige isañga t'ékiçaí, that one Haxige killed his brother for him (235,8)

gáçaⁿ iⁿçiñ'gçañ ga, put that on something for me (121,14)

4. --é refers to something referred to before.

Examples :

é ni, that water [referred to in line 2] (559,12)
é giça biama, it is said, she rejoiced at that (21,1)
é cti maⁿçaⁿi te, that too they stole (85,8)
égaⁿ gaxa -- bajíi -- ga ha, do not ye do thus ! (618,8)

5. --du is a form which is comparatively rare and seems to designate what is near the speaker.

Examples :

dúaka, this one here (58,5)
uqpé te dúate, the bowl on this side (574,1)
dúda, this way (191,8 ; 192,15)
dúdiha, this way (553,3 ; 556,5)

6. — gu is also comparatively rare and designates what is farther off than « du »

Examples :

gúdiha, that way (587,15 ; 614,1 ; 630,20).

PERSONAL PRONOUNS

The independent personal pronouns are :
wí, I (736,3 ; 715,5).
çí, thou (711,18).
añgu, we
In composition with the verb the same classes of subjective (transitive) and objective (intransitive) pronouns and the same numbers occur that are found in Dakota. The pronominal forms are so strongly modified by amalgamation with the verbal stem and the combined forms of subject and object show so many irregularities, that they are better treated in the discussion of the verb.

POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

Independent forms are :

wí*t*a, my (633,11 ; 635,6) wiwi*t*a, my own (477,9 ; 492,-12 ; 493,1)

çí*t*a, thy (485,2 ; 635,4) çiçí*t*a, thy own (485,5,6 ; 492,9 ; 495,7) e*t*a, his (491,8 ; 642,2 ; 679,11)

|añgu*t*a, thy and my|

añgú*t*ai, our (16,19 ; 678,1 ; 679,9)

taⁿwañgçaⁿ añgú*t*a-ma, our own gentes (502,12)

|çítai| çiçítai, your own (495,8 ; 630,8)

e*t*aí, their (633,6 ; 675,3 ; 642,7 ; 523,5)

The possessive pronoun appears without the suffix *t*a as a prefix in terms of relationship.

wi my
çi — thy
i his

Examples :

wi*k*aⁿ, my grandmother (9,3)
wi*t*imi, my father's sister (9,3)
winégi, my mother's brother (10,16)
wi*t*ande, my daughter's husband (349,12)
winísi, my child (44,13)
çinégi, thy mother's brother (10,15)
çihaⁿ, thy mother (348,3)
çikáge, thy friend (487,4)
igáqçaⁿ, his wife (348,13)
ijiñge, his son (345,2)
ijañge, his daughter (345,1)

With the words « father » and « mother » the first person possessive has an exceptional form

iⁿnaⁿhá, (iⁿ naⁿ ha) my mother (16,8 ; 481,1 ; 638,1)
iⁿ dádi, my father (26,5 ; 151,15)

THE VERB

The verbal stems are, on the whole short. They take the same classes of prefixes as the Dakota verbs.

INSTRUMENTAL PREFIXES

We have found eight instrumental prefixes, all of which form transitive verbs, like the analogous Dakota prefixes.

ba, by pressing with the hand	(Dakota	pa)
naⁿ, by pressing with the foot	("	na)
ma, by cutting	("	ba)
ça, with the mouth, by blowing,	("	ya)
ga, by striking (& with action of wind & water)	("	ka)
çi, by pulling	("	..)
na, by heat	("	..)
mu, by shooting	("	bo)

Examples :

cta^{n}, to stop.

na^{n}cta^{n}, to stop running (315,14)
çacta^{n}, to stop talking (338,15)
çicta^{n}, to finish [making an arrow] (87,19)

sa, to break.

bçísa, I break [a cord] (295,19)
másа, to cut (14,1)
gasá, to cut a tree (75,13)

ba — basnú, he pushed along (318,3)
baqíaçá, he pushed down (80,14)
ubasna^{n}, to push [a tail] into [a tree] (75,8)
bacíbe, he forced a way out (369,13)
bohiçéça, he pushed it away (331,3)
baçúta^{n}, to make straight by pushing (234,14)

na^{n} — na^{n}há, he kicked (314,16)
wana^{n}te, stepping on them (235,19)
wana^{n}qiqíxe, crushing them with the foot (235,20)
na^{n}çnáha, he slipped in walking (97,14)
na^{n}xáge to make cry by kicking (96,11)

ma — mása, he cuts head off (11,1)
wémabçázai-ga, rend it for us with a knife (76,6)
umásnai-ga, split it with a knife (318,14)

ça — çaqú, to drink (266,18)
çasni^{n}, to swallow (79,12)
çanékiça, he made him put it in his mouth (99,7)

wáçabçháçazá, he bit and tore them in many places (267,13)
çaéça^n bá, he made it emerge by biting (124,9)
ga — gat'é, to die by falling (163,9)
ugásne, he split by hitting (81,18)
ugákiba, he made a crack by hitting (81,12)
gasáçu, to strike a rattle (315,10)
gasnú, wind blows (324,7)
gamú, to empty by pouring out (17,11)
gapúki, to make sound by hitting (266,10)
çi — çisnú, to drag (306,3)
çispácpai, he pulled pieces apart (17,7)
çip'ande, he shook by pulling (318,8)
çidañ — ga, pull on it! (96,9)
çiqçúda, he pulled it out (131,5)
na — nat'e, to die by heat (232,7)
ná'sabe, blackened by fire (259,5)
naziçá, made yellow by heat (237,2)
náçiñge, it is consumed by fire (673,6)
náqçi^n, it burns brightly (235,15)
nádadáze, fire sends out sparks (234,18)
nátubewáçe, he cooked them to pieces (232,19)
mu — múçiñge, to exterminate by shooting (628,6)
umúcta, to remain from shooting (399,14)

LOCATIVE PREFIXES

These also show a strict analogy to the corresponding Dakota prefixes.

á, on (Dakota a)
u, in, into (Dakota o)
i, from, with, out of, by means of (Dakota i)

Examples:

a — aça, to glue on (84,19)
ágçi^n, to sit on (84,6)
áci'á, to drop on (234,18)
ágigçáqta^n, he poured on his own (234,19)
u. — ubaxa^n, to push into (232,6)
uága'úde, I broke a hole in (96,17)
ugásne, split inside by hitting (81,18)

ubásna^n, to push into (75,8)
ugçi^n to sit inside (85,17)
i. ígaxa, to make of it (97,22)
íti^n, to hit with it (433,3)
íkide, to shoot with (360,10)
ít'e, to die from it (690,11)

PRONOMINAL FORMS

Verbs are classified as active and neutre, and these two classes have distinct incorporated subjective pronouns, of which the latter correspond on the whole to the incorporated pronominal objects of the active verb. This grouping of verbs and pronouns is the same as that found in Dakota. The pronouns show considerable modifications according to the phonetic character of the initial sound of the verb. By far the majority of verbs may be combined in one group. These have the following subjective pronominal forms.

Pronominal subject of	*Active verb*	*Neuter verb*
Singular, 1st person	a —	a^n
" , 2nd "	ça —	çi
Dual, inclusive	a^n —	wa

The plural of all these forms is made by the suffix — i, corresponding to the Dakota — pi. The inclusive dual, by addition of this suffix, is transformed into the first person plural. It will be noticed that this method of forming the pronominal plural is the same, as that applied in the possessive pronoun. The third person plural object is wa —. This does not seem to occur as subject of the neuter verb.

Examples:

aná'a^n, I heard it [from ná'a^n, he hears] (670,2)
atí, I have arrived [from tí, he arrives] (671,6)
çatí, thou hast arrived (715,3)
çaná'a^n, thou hearest it (665,1)
a^n ma^{n}çi^n i, we walk (713,5)
a^n çiñge, I have none [from çiñgé, he has none] (715,2)
a^n wa^{n}qpani, I am poor [from wa^{n}qpani, poor] (719,2)
çiçiñge, thou hast none (70,17)
wawákegai, we have been sick [from wákega, sick] (662,1)

Active verbs with incorporated object are common. On the whole the object is identical with the subject of the neutre verb. In their combination the first person precedes the second and third, and the third person precedes the second. As in Dakota the combination of first person subject and second person object is expressed by a special form, wi . The plurality of the object is here also expressed by the suffix i.

Examples :

me |aⁿ| thou |ça|; aⁿçasiçáji, thou forgettest me (652,6)
us |-awa| -you |ça|; uáwaçakaⁿi, you have aided us (751,9)
us |wa| thou |ça|; waçásiçaça-bi, it is said you remembered us (687,5)
we |aⁿ| thee |çi|; aⁿçí'i, we give it to thee (439,3)
we |aⁿ| you |çi-i|; aⁿçísiçai, we remember you (687,4)
I |a| them |wa|; awana'aⁿ, I have heard about them (676,1)
I |a| them |wa|; awá'i, I gave them (652,14)
them |wa| thou |ça|; waçána'aⁿ, thou hearest about them (692,7)
I -thee |wi|; winá'aⁿ, I hear thee (87,14)
I thee |wi|; uwítiⁿ, I hit thee (62,3)
I you |wi-i|; wi'ii, I give you (706,10)

Corresponding to the Dakota inflection of the verb beginning with y, we have in Ponka the following forms of the verb in ç

Singular, 1st person bç
" 2 " çn (n)
" 3 " ç
Dual, inclusive anç

Examples :

bçíze, I receive (670,1)
kaⁿbça (1), I wish (704,4)
maⁿ bçiⁿ (2), I walk (706,2)
kaⁿ bçégaⁿ (1), I hope (706,4)
ebçégaⁿ (3), I think that (706,6)

(1) Double conjugation.
(2) Infixed pronoun.
(3) Compound verb.

cné, you went (738,2)
ucné, thou tellest (58,17)
ckaⁿna (¹), thou wishest (741,10)
níze, thou receivest it (745,3)
maⁿ niⁿ, you walk (744,5)
gaⁿ ça (¹), he wishes (50,8)
eçegaⁿ (²), he thinks that (757,13)
aⁿ çiⁿ, we were (727,5)
aⁿ çaⁿçai, we think (727,8)

According to a note on p. 534 (167,18) cnaⁿ is the oldest form of the second person. There also exists a modern equivalent hnaⁿ while naⁿ is the most recent form.

hnietaⁿi, ye finished (436,9)
hnaí, ye go (436,8)

Verbs with initial b, d, and g belonging to the stem are treated in a similar manner

Singular, 1st person	*p* —	, *t* —	, k
" 2nd "	cp —	, ct	, ck
" 3rd "	b	, d	, g
Dual, inclusive	aⁿ b	, aⁿ d	, añg

Examples :

*p*áxu, I write (488,8)
*p*ixaⁿ, I blow it (575,7)
ícpahaⁿ, you know it (435,14)
íbahaⁿ, he knows (111,18)
wi*t*aⁿbe (¹), I see thee (644,16)
ctaⁿbe, you behold (635,10)
daⁿ be, he saw (116,3)
kaⁿ bça(¹), I wish (704,4)
ckáxe, you make (582,14)
gaⁿ ça(¹), he wishes (50,8)
gaxe, he made (10,13)
añgáxai, we do (686,5)
aⁿ daⁿbe, we see (132,8)

(1) Double conjugation.
(2) Compound verb.

In verbs beginning with i, we have also modified forms of the pronoun :

Active pronoun.	Singular 1st person	iça
	Dual inclusive	a^{n}ça^n
Neuter pronoun.	Singular 1st person	a^{n}ça^n
	Plural, 1st person	wea
Object	Plural, 3rd person	we

Object, Plural, 3rd person combined with subject singular 1st person wea

All other persons are regular.

Examples :

içápaha^n (1), I know (65[illegible])
a^{n}ça^{n}wañkégai, I am sick on account of (714,8)
a^{n}ça^{n}baha^n (1), he knows me (475,6)
a^{n}ça^n baha^n (1), we know it (657,[illegible])
weábaha^n*i* (1), they know us (38[illegible])
weát'açai, they hate us (679,19)
wémaxe, he questioned them (40,5)
wéçai, they found them (440,14)
weáça-maji, I do not find them (151,20)
wea^{n}çai, we found them (440,15)

In verbs beginning with u the following modifications occur :

Active Pronoun, Plural, 1st Person añg
Neuter Pronoun, Singular, 1st Person a^n wa^n

Examples :

añguiñ*k*a^n i, we aided him (748,3)
añguíçiça, we tell you (40,2)
a^n wa^{n}ça, he tells about me (43,3)
a^n wa^{n}na'a^n, they heard about me (39,19)
a^n wa^{n}bitañga, press me down ! (23,15)

The following verbs are irregular :

pí, I arrived (453,6)
cí, you arrive (555,7)
hí, he arrives (555,7)

(1) Double conjugation.

miñké I who (13,4)
niñké, thou who (758,1)
çiñké, he who (11,5)
mañká, we who
nañká, ye who (667,8)
hnañká ye who (231,5)
çañká, they who (624,3)

ma^n, I do (245,10)
ja^n, thou doest (13,8)
a^n, he does (13,7)

ehé, I say (665,6)	a^n ça^n, we say (678,6)
ece, you say (674,12)	ecaí, ye say (678,18)
é, he says (194,5)	aí, they say (667,4)

INDIRECT OBJECT

The Ponka has two indirect objects, similar to those of the Dakota. Sufficient material for an exhaustive presentation of this difficult subject has not been collected. It may be sufficient to indicate the scope of these forms by what appears to be the most regular set of the indirect object, expressing the preposition « for, on behalf of ».

	for me	for thee	for him	for us	for them
I	—	wi —	e —	—	(ewe —) (1)
thou	i^{n}çe —	—	(çe —)(1)	weçe —	weçe —
he	i^n —	çi —	gi —	we —	we —
we	—	i^{n}çi —	(i^n — (1)	—	(wea^n i)(1)

Examples :

wípaxe, I make for thee (723,10)
wíka^{n}bça, I desire for thee (725,3)
éka^n bça, I desire it for him (778,3)
i^n çéwacka^n, thou makest an effort for me (758,2)
i^n çéckaxe, thou does it for me (726,2)
weçéckaxe, thou does it for us (752,7)
weçéni‘ai, thou hast failed to do it for us (752,8)

(1) According to the Manuscript Grammar by J. Owen Dorsey.

weçéc! a^{n} na, thou desirest it for them (767,3)
i^{n}teqi, it is difficult for me (755,4)
çíga^{n} çai, they desire it for thee (741,11)
éçiçi^{n}he has it for thee (741,6)
gíteqi, it is difficult for him (729,4)
wéuda, it is good for us (758,4)
wéteqi, it is difficult for us (752,12)
wegáxai, they do it for them (767,3
i^{n} çínai, we begged of thee (?) (752,7)

PARTICLES

A number of particles perform the function of oral stops. As in Dakota some of these have distinct forms according to the sex of the speaker. Their principal function seems to be to give a certain tone or modality to the predicate, and for this reason they might be more properly considered with the modal particles.

1. a and é are used to mark emphasis. They occur either as stops or within the sentence.
2. ha and he express the period.
3. áha^{n} and éha^{n} express the exclamation.

In all of these the a forms are used by men, the e forms by women.

Examples:

a^{n} çin içanahi^{n} a ! truly, I am fat [said by a man] (567,9)
çit'açewáçe içanahi^{n}i é truly, you hateful one! [said by a woman] (152,3)
ca^{n} zaní wibçaha^{n}i ha, now I petition you all [said by a man] (690,1)
wakanda wáçixé etewa^{n} agika^{n} bça-máji he, I do not desire to take any mysterious power for my husband (614,12)
gáte eti ga^{n} na^{n} aha^{n}, she has done that regularly! [said by a man] (591,7)
wanandeçagçáji eha^{n} ! you do not loathe him! [said by a woman (591,18)

ha and he are frequently used following imperatives:

Examples:

mañgçiñ-ga ha, begone! [said by a man] (620,17)
gigçaí -a he, enter your lodge! [said by a woman] (614,13)

They are also used as interjections. Since há and hé are found printed occasionally instead of ha and he it seems justifiable to consider the exclamations há and hé as the same particles :

Examples :

há, /ucpá ! ho, grandchild ! [said by a man] (620,9)
hé, cpaça^n ! ho, grandchild ! [said by a woman] (589,7)

4 -- a marks the question.

Examples :

gáçi^n edéga^n a ? what does that one say ? (233,1)
tí a ? has it come : (709,2)
eatá^n çanáji^n i a ? why do ye stand ? (23,4)

áda^n (commonly translated « therefore ») occurs also apparently as an interrogative particle :

Examples :

e'a^n' -- qti écni^n áda^n ? What great [person] are you ? (23,12)
eáta^n áda^n? Why ? (27,20)
See also : ebédi 'i^n çé da^n ? to whose lodge does she go carrying it (591,3)

5 -- ga and a express the imperative, ga being used by men, a by women.

íça -- ga ! send it here ! [said by a man] (702,15)
ihéçai-ga ! lay it down (plural) ! [said by man] (231,19)
gigçaí -- a ! enter your lodge [said by a woman] (614,4)
gçi^n'kiçaí -- a he, cause ye him to sit ! [said by a woman] (591,18)

6. te [ta, tai] designates the future.

Examples :

ga t'é te, he will die from a fall (236,1)
cné te ha, you will go (230,3)
wáçate gçi^n tá aká, he will be sitting eating them (235,16)
ujé/i ckáxe tai, ye will make a hole for a pole (615,1)
ca^{n}ckaxe tai áça, indeed, ye will do enough (144,14)

te changes, according to a general phonetic rule to ta before

the article ; and also before the plural i. Thus taí is the regular plural future. By the use of a double future taté and taité the idea of futurity with certainty of the event happening is expressed.

Examples :

ga^n qti taté, it will be that way (227,4)

a^{n}epana^n taté, you surely will gaze on me (230,5)

ictá çijíde taíte ha, your eyes will (shall) be red (578,2)

agçi -- báji ca^n ca^n taité, they shall not come back continually (235,5)

ALTMEXIKANISCHE MOSAIKEN
IM KGL. MUSEUM FUR VOLKERKUNDE
ZU BERLIN

PAR LE Dr WALTER LEHMANN, Berlin.

Zu den grössten Kostbarkeiten der hoch entwickelten Culturen Mexico's und Centralamerika's gehören sowohl wegen ihrer ausserordentlichen Seltenheit, als auch wegen der Pracht der verwendeten Stoffe und der Schönheit der Ausführung jene Stücke musivischer Arbeit, von denen bisher nur etwa 23, in den Museen Europas varstreute bekannt geworden sind.

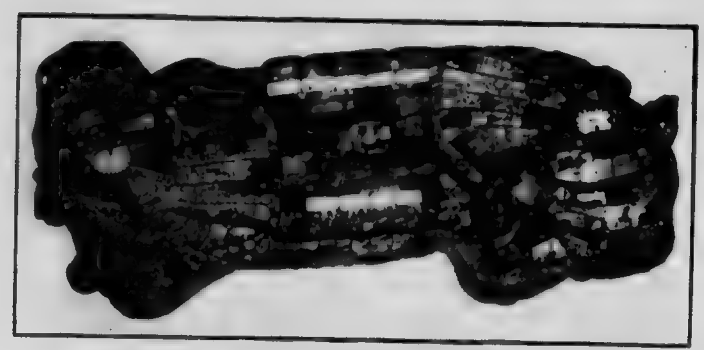
Ueber die Geschichte, Technik und Bedeutung aller bekannt gewordener Mosaiken im Zusammenhange habe ich im «Globus» (Nr. 20 von Bd. 90, 1906, p. 318-322) ausführlich gehandelt. Hier liegt mir diesmal nur daran, zwei bisher noch nicht veröffentlichte und besonders schöne Examplare der Sammlung des Berliner Museums für Völkerkunde bekannt zu machen.

Ein drittes Mosaik, welches dasselbe Museum besitzt, ist eine mit Türkisplatten bedeckte Maske aus einem präparierten menschlichen Schädel und bereits von Uhle voröffentlicht worden.

Die beiden anderen Mosaiken mögen nun im Einzelnen näher beschrieben werden. (1).

(1) S. Veröffentl. kgl. Museum f. Völkerkunde, Berlin, 1889, I, p. 2 u. 20 ff. sowie Tafel II, oben. Vgl. Am. Congr. Berlin, 1888, C. R. p. 738.

I. Doppeljaguar. No. IV Ca 4014.



Ia. Mosaik No: IV Ca 4014. Kgl. Mus. f. Völkerkd. Berlin. Ansicht von oben

Geschichte. Das Stückstammt sicher aus dem Nachlass Alexander von Homboldt's (1769-1859), der es irgendwo aut seinen Reisen in Mexico erworben haben muss. Näheres lässt sich leider nicht ermitteln, da weder in den alten Akten der Museums irgend eine Notiz zu finden ist, noch die Tagebücher des genonnten Gelehrten, welche seine reisen in Mexico behandeln, bis jetzt bekannt sind. Merkwürdig ist, dass A. von Humboldt an keiner Stelle eeiner Schriften auf das kostbare Stück zu sprechen kommt.

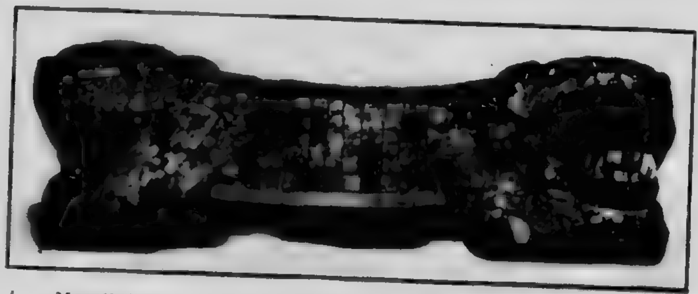
In dem Katolog der amerikanischen Abteilung des Berlines Museums findet sich die Angabe: « Aus dem Nachlass A. von Humbodt's, durch Graf Ross vermacht. 1872. » In dem Verzeichnis aller vom Grafen Ross übrigens nicht « vermachten, » sondern verkauften Objekte ist das Mosaik jedoch nicht erwähnt. Hier ist höchst wahrscheinlich ein Irrtum untergelaufen. Soviel ich ermitteln konnte, wurde das Stück von Nachkommen einer Tochter des Kammerdieners A. von Humboldt's an das Museum verkauft. (1)

Beschreibung. Der Doppel jaguar, dessen einer Kopf dem Beschauer zu-, dessen anderer ihm abgekehrt ist, wurde aus

(1) Für gütige Mitteilung bin ich dem soeben verstorbenen Direktor, Herrn Geheimrat Voss zu grosstem Danke verpflichtet

einem Stück Holz geschnitzt, das 32cm lang, am Rücken 8cm, an den Köpfen 10cm hoch ist. Die Rückenbreite beträgt 9cm, der Umfang, um die Mitte von Rücken und Bauch gemessen, 32cm.

Das Holz ist fest und von rothbrauner Farbe. Die Extremitäten sind frei ausgearbeitet. Die Mitte der Bauchgegend wird von einer Aushöhlung gebildet, die 10cm lang, le 4½cm breit und tief ist. Es liegt die Vermutung nahe, dass das, ganze Stück mit dieser viereckigen Vertiefung irgend einem anderen Gegenstande aufgesessen habe, über dessen Beschaffenheit und Zweck sich aber leider zur Zeit kaum et was Bestimmtes sagen lässt.



16. Mosaik No: IV Ca 4014. Kgl. Mus. f. Völkerkd. Berlin. Ansicht von der einen Seite

Besonders hervorzuheben ist noch, dass die vom Mosaik unbekleidete Bauchseite auf dem Holze selbst Bemalungen in schwarzer und blaugrüner Farbe aufweist die teils die Conturen der Zehen und Fussschwielen andeuten, teils mehr als dekorative Linien und ornamentale Streifen verlaufen. Erstere gehen paarig von je der Mosaikgrenze zum Längsrande der Aushöhlung, letztere ziehen sich hinter den Extremitäten schräg über Hals und Brust beiderseits dahin.

Als Bindemittel ist wie bei allen bekannt gewordenen Mosaiken eine dunkelbraune Harzmasse in dicker Schicht (etwa 3-4mm) auf das Holz aufgetragen worden. Dieses Harz hiess kei den Mexikanern tzinacan-quauh-cuitlatl (1). Ausschw-

(1) S. Hernandez edid. Ant. Nardus Recchus, 1651, p. 866 u. p. 58 59 (cap. XXI, liber III). de tzinacancuitlaquahuitl seu arbore ferente gummi simile stercori vespertilionum. Laccifera, gummi est quod Laccum officinae vocant . . .

itzung des Fledermauskaumes. Die Festigkeit des nach dem Leibarzt Philipp's II von Spanien, als eine ganz ausserordentliche geschildert. In der Tat haben sich auch in dem Harzüberzug die Abdrücke der später verlorengegangenen Mosaikplatten so deutlich erhalten, dass man etwaige Ergänzungen ohne Mühe vornehmen könnte.

Das Mosaik besteht in Auflagen von sehr verschiedenartigem Material. Ueberwiegend sind zunächst Steine, Platten und Plattchen von grünem oder grün-gelblichen Türkis (xihuitl) und blauem Malachit matlalxihuitl (1). Die Grösse und Form dieser Platten ist eine überaus mannigfaltige; teils sind sie polyedrisch, im allgemeinen mehr oder weniger viereckig, teils sind sie rund, wie z. B. auf der Mitte des Rückens. Die Scheiben sind sorgfältig poliert und sehr genau eino an die andere gefügt.

Die Anordnung der Türkisplättchen verlöuft vom Kopf zum Rücken und von diesem zum Leib in breiten Streifen. Auf dem Rücken sind diese Streifen dagegen schmaler. Hals und Extremitäten sind fast ganz mit Tärkisem bedeckt. Die Augen sind vorwiegend mit Malachitscheiban eingefasst. Eine andere Form der Anordnung bildet Rosetten, so auf dem Rücken, auf den Extremitäten, die zweifellos die Flecken des Joguorfelles nachahmen sollen. Sie finden sich auch auf einem Mosaik im British Museum wieder, das gleichfalls einen, aber becherartig ausgehöhlten Jaguar darstellt (2). Vereinzelt bemerk man sonst noch eine rhombische Anordnung auf einer der Extremitäten. Einzelne Steinplatten weisen ausserdem Ritzungen auf.

Abgesehen von diesen Edelsteinen ist auch Obsidian (itzli) in grösseren Platten zur Anwendung gelangt. Solche erstrecken sich vom Kopf herab in breiten Streifen zwischen die Türkisbänder, gehen dann vom Rücken in gebogener Linie nach dem Oberarm, wo sie volutenartig sich verschlingen. Das eine Ohr ist an der Spitze gleichfalls mit Obsidianplatten bedeckt.

(1) Uber die Technik der Steinschneidekunst s. Seler, Gesammelteges, Abhdlg. II 1904, p. 635-640.

(2) Photographien dieses Mosaiks verdanke ich der grossen Liebenswürdigkeit des Herrn Charles H. Read in London. Er selbst beschreibt es in Archaeologia. Vol. 54 unter No. 8.

Der zu innerst gelegene Lippensaum besteht aus kleineren Obsidianplatten. Auch die Nasen-und Oberlippenpartie weist Reste von Obsidian auf. Eigentümlich ist ein quastenartiges Gebilde, das jederseits am linken Oberarm herabfällt und mit grossen Obsidianplatten bedeckt ist.

Sehr wesentlich belebt wird die Farbenwirkung durch mannigfaltige bunte Muschelschalenstücke. Ausser Perlmutter finden sich weisse, gelbe, hellrötliche, rote, dunkelrote und violette Muschelschalen. Im allgemeinen sind die aus diesem Material geschnittenen Stücke bedeutend grösser als die Platten von bunten Steinen.

Den Rücken umsäumen zwei Rehen hellweisser Muschelschalenstücke von durchschnittlich 1½ cm. Länge und ¾ cm. Breite. Helle Perlmutterschalen umsäumen die Extremitäten und die Bauchseiten. Ebenso umsäumt ist ferner der äussere Lippenrand (wo einzelne Stücke wohl zur Andeutung der Schnurrhaare mit Linien geritzt sind), die rechte Ohrspitze, der Hals und die Gegend zwischen linkem Ohr und der oben erwöhnten Kopfsträhne.

Schmale weisse Muschelschalenstücke finden sich ferner an den Stirnmitten. Runde Scheiben desselben Materials sind seitlich von den Nasenwurzeln angebracht. An hervorragender Stelle auf der Hinderhauptsspitze ruht jederseits eine halbrunde grosse weisse Muschelscheibe von 2 cm. Durchmesser, die wie ein Daunenbal in den Bilderhandschriften gestrichelt ist.

Jeder der beiden Köpfe ist durch ein oben querloufendes Band von Türkisen, gelber und roter Muschelschale abgeteilt in zwei Felder, die mit dunkel gelblichem, ins violette spielender Perlmuttermosaik inkrustiert sind. Die gleichen Scheiben kehren auf dem Rücken wieder, wo sie den breiten Mittelstreifen begrenzen. Sie finden sich auch noch an der rechten Schultergegend.

Die ornamentale Anordung auf dem Rücken ist folgende : Ein breites Mittelfeld von vier Rosetten (zwei aus Türkis, swei aus roter Muschelschole) und seitlich davon je eine Grenzborte von fünd Rosetten aus Türkisen mit centraler, braun-rölicher Muschelschale.

Es sei bemerkt, dass einzelne, meist kreisrunde Muschelstücke durchbohrt sind, oder Ansätze zu einer Durchbohrung

aufweisen. Andere Scheiben (so die weissen an der Nosenwurzel und der Wangengegend) besitzen eine Auflage brouner Masse (Harz ?) in Ringform. Ein halbovalförmiges Perlmutterstück an der rechten Oberextremität des einen Jaguars zeigt sogar eine kreisrunde Türkisplombe.

Die Augen und Nasen sind besonders arg beschädigt. Dies rührt davon her, dass sie vielleicht ursprüngleich teilweise mit Goldfolie bedeckt waren, wie Ähnliches gradezu von anderen, von Juan de Grijalva 1518 in Tobasco eingetauschten Mosaiken bei Oviedo angegeben ist. (1)

Was die Zähne anlangt, so sind sie bei dem einen Kopf ganz herausgebrochen. Der andere dagegen zeigte oben vier grössere, unten vier kleinere Schneidezähne aus heller Perlmutterschale (wovon 3 erhalten). Die Eckzähne sind von je zwei echten Raubtierzähnen gebildet.

II. —Jaguarkopf. No. IV Ca 7159



IIa.—Mosaik No: IV Ca 7159 Kgl. Mus f. Völkerkd. Berlin.- Ansicht von vorn

Geschichte. Das Stück wurde im März 1885 auf Veranlassung des Herrn Geh. Rats Voss durch Austausch mit dem Herzoglichen Museum in Braunschweig (2) zusammen mit der Schädelmaske (No. IV Ca 7160) erworben (3)

Zwei alte Etiquetten sind geeignet, etwas über die Vorgeschichte zu sagen. Die eine langere Etiquette *(a)* trägt die Nro. 344, die

(1) Oviedo, bei Ramusio, Raccolto, III (1565) lib. XVII, cap. 14, f. 156.

(2) S. Kgl. Mus. f. Völkerkunde, Berlin, Acta America., 1885. I. B. No. 73.

(3) Nachträglich sei hier bemerkt, das diese Schädelmaske auf der Rückseit innen am linken Rande eine Holzleiste trägt, auf der deutlich No. 30 in altertümlicher Schrift geschrieben steht.

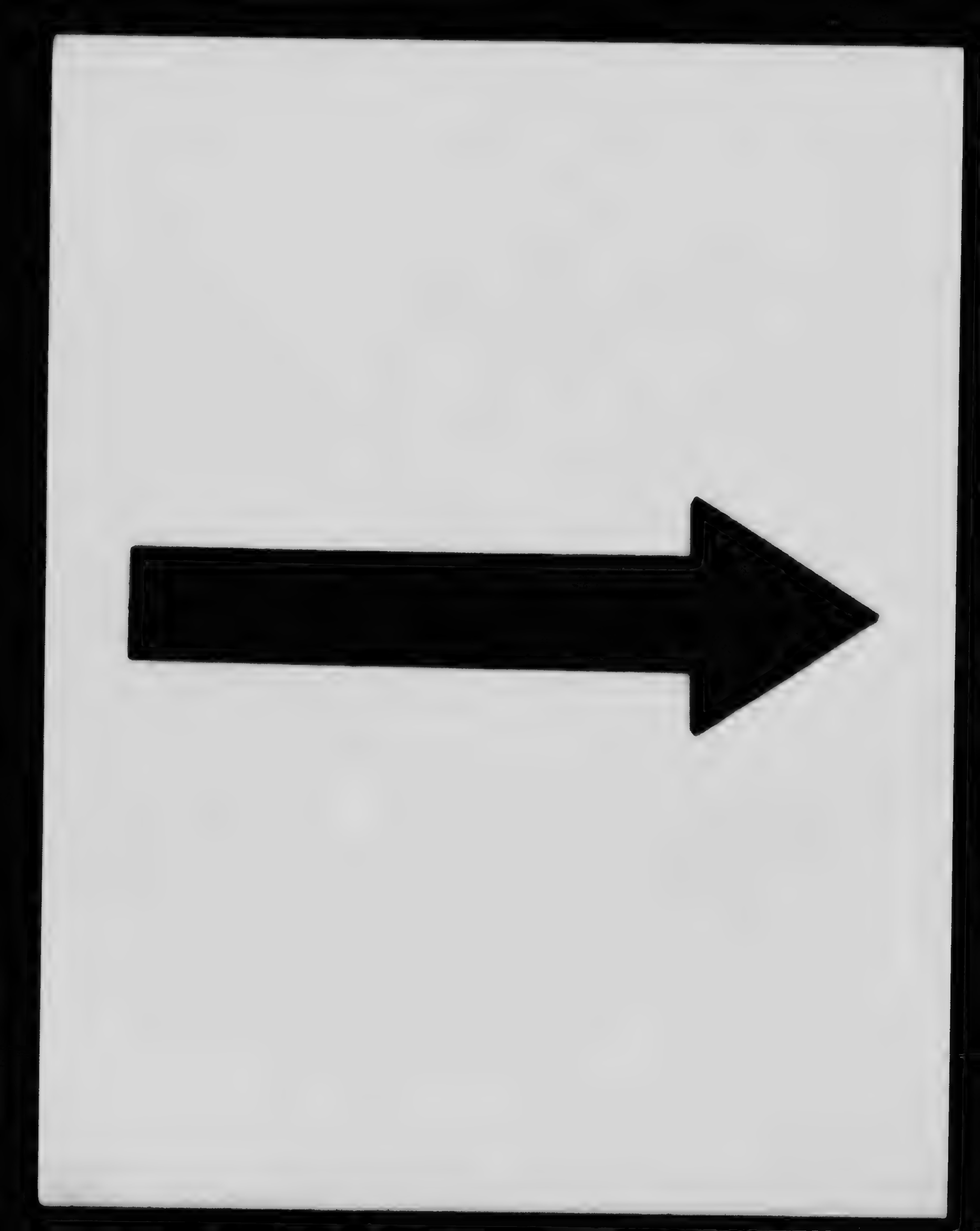


II b Mosaik No. IV Ca 7159 Kgl. Museum f. Völkerkd. Berlin Ansicht von der linken Seite.

schmalere (b) die Nr. 13. In einer Neuaufnah me der Herzoglichen Sammlungen aus den ersten Jahren des 19 ten Jahrhunderts, die zum Tei auf ein altes Bevern'-sches In-ventar vom Jahre 1623 zurückgeht, heisst es Vol. D. p. 28: « Wolfskoph, sh hohl ist und mit grünem Schmelz überzogen. » (Nro. 344). Etiquette b bezicht sich jedenfalls auf em älteres Inventar, aber kaum auf das Original vom Jahre 1623, in dem wie mir mitgeteilt wurde, das Mosaik nicht erwähnt ist (1).

Im Juli 1767 wurden die Sammlungen von Schloss Bevern nach dem Herzoglichen Museum in Braunschweig überführt im Zusammenhang mit der Uebersiedelung des Hofes von Wolfenbüttel nach Braunschweig (1753). Wie die beiden Mosaiken aber, der Jaguarkopf und die Schädelmaske, in den Besitz der Herzöge von Bevern gekommen sind, ist fast unmöglich zu sagen. Auffallend ist, dass sie grade in dem alten Inventar von 1623 fehlen. Wären die Stücke in jener Zeit erworben worden, so käme als Besitzer wohl der Herzog August der Jüngere (1578-1666), Sohn Heinrichs, Herzogs von Braunschweig-Läneburg-Dannenberg († 1598), in Betracht, von dem es feststeht, das auf ihn Sammlungen von Limogen und Majoliken zurückgehen, die der Reisende Taversin aufgebracht hatte. Andrerseits könnte man auch an den Herzog Anton Ulrich (1685-1714) oder Ferdinand Albrecht denken, von denen der erstere viele Sammlungen angelegt hat.

(1) Für liebenswürdige Auskunft spreche ich an dieser Stelle Herrn Prof. P. J. Meier in Braunschweig meinen verbindlichsten Dank aus.



Auch muss von vornherein die Erwägung massgebend sein, dass derantige mexikanische Reliquien fast ausnahmslos über Spanien gekommen sind, wo sie von Karl V oder einem seiner Zeitgenossen anderweitig verschenkt wurden.

Sehr bedauelich ist da der Umstand, dass der Name oder das Wort, das auf der Basis des Jaguarkopfes nahe am Rande in oltertümlicher Schrift geschrieben, steht, nich zu entziffern ist. Es ist ein fast ganz verwischtes Wort von 7-8 Buchstaben, von denen die letzten vielleich . . . vis zu lesen sind.

Beschreibung. Der Gegenstand hat die Form eines nach hinten oben offeren und tief wie ein Pokal ausgehöhlten Jaguarkopfes mit geöffnetem Rachen. Die grösste Höhe beträgt 14½ cm., der Durchmesser der Oeffnung 7½ cm. Der Durchmesser der wurmstichigen Basis ist 9½ cm., die grösste Breite 14 cm., der gröste Umfang (vom Hinterhaupt nach der Nasen-Oberkieferpartie gemessen) 45 cm.

Die Grundsubstanz bildet ein bräunliches Holz. Der becherartige Kopf hat jederseits nahe der Mitte des linken und rechten Randes der Oeffnung an einander entsprechenden Stellen je eine grössere und kleinere Durchbohrung.

Ein Stück des Hinterrandes ist abgebrochen. Das Bindemittel für das Mosaik ist das braune Harz des tzinacanquahuitl, das übrigens auch einen Teil des Innenrandes der becherartigen Aushöhlung überzieht.

Das Mosaik ist leidlich errhalten, insofern nichts Wesentliches fehlt, d. h. das Fehlende nach dem Vorhandenen ohne Weiteres ergänzbar ist. Fast unverseht ist es an den Hinter-und Seitenteilen, sowie im Rachen und an der Unterseite des Unterkiefers. Es fehlt, besonders auf der Nasenwurzel, dem Oberkiefer, an Augen und Wangen. Die Eindrücke im Harz zeigen jedoch deutlich die Grösse und Form der verloren gegangenen oder ausgebrochenen Platten an.

Als Material sind wiederum verschiedene Arten Steine und Muschelschalen verwandt.

Was die ersteren betrifft, so haben wir zunächst eine allgemeine Masaikdecke zu unterscheiden von warzenförmig darüber hervorragenden, zum Teil facettierten Steinen. Indem diese wie leuchtende Tropfen von der glitzernden Unterlage sich abheben, wird dadurch ein umbeschreiblich schöner und kunstvoller

Effekt erzielt. Diese warzenförmigen Steine sind wohl das, was die Mexikaner xiuhtomolin nanntenennten ([1]). Sie finden sich sehr schön auch auf einer Maske der Christy Collection (London) ([2]) und auf einer anderen jetzt im Museo prehistorico di Roma, früher im Besitz der Medici befindlichen Maske ([3]).

Die zusammenhängende Mosaikdecke besteht aus grünen oder grün-gelblichen Türkisplatten, teils aus himmelblauen Malachitscheiben, die, in Form unp Grösse wechselnd, spiegelblank gechliffen sind. Die Seitenteile der Maske begrenzen Malachitplatten von je 2, 7 cm. Länge und 0, 7 cm. Breite ; andere auffallend grosse Platten sind hier und da verstrent, so ist an der Stirnmitte eine facettierte Türkisplatte von 1, 1 cm. x. 0, 8 cm. Grösse. Eine anderer sitzt der Mitte des Unterkiefers auf. Eine ähnliche grosse Platte in der Mitte des Oberkiefers ist ausgebrochen.

Die Anordnung der gesamten Platten und Plätchen ist eine anscheinend willkürliche. Regelmässigere Züge von Plättchen umgeben jedoch die Augen und die Linien des Mundes, der sich ein wenig plastisch vom übrigen Gesicht absetzt.

Das Lippentot wird durch eine Leiste schmaler roter Muschelschalenstücke gebildet ([4]), die ein wenig schräg nach innen vom Mundrande gerichtet ist.

Gaumen und Mundboden sind mit Mosaik von grünen und blauen Steinplatten bedeckt, das sehr wirkungsvoll durchbrochen wird von Zickzacklinien aus roten Muschelschalstücken,

(1) Xiuhtomolli, s. Sahagun edid. H. Siméon. p. 763, ein aus Guatemela und Soconusco importierter Stein. Hernandez (1. c. tract. VI p. 90, No. 31) reibt den xiuhtomolin an den den matlalxihuitl an. Molina (in sienem Vocabular, Mexico 1571) erwähnt xiuhtomolli turquesa, piedra preciosa. Etymologisch hängt damit wol totomolua Beulen machen, bosselieren zusammen, vgl. noch Seler, Ges. Abh. II p. 634 (53) und p. 640.

(2) Waldeck-Brasseur de Bourbourg, Monuments anciens du Mexique, Paris 1866. in fol. pl. 43.

(3) s. Pigorini, Reale Academia dei Lincei, Serie 3*a*. Vol. XII 1885. fig. 4*a*. Il mosaico è formato di conchiglia rossa e di turchine, e alcune di queste, arrotondate, si elaveno a guisa di bitorzoli.

(4) Ein Teil am rethten Mundwinkel ist fruher durch roten Siegellack ergänzt worden. Eine andere rote Muschelplatte unterhalb des linken unteren Eckzahnes ist durch ein Holzplättchen ergänzt worden.

von denen drei am Gaumen, zwei am Mundboden angebracht sind.

Auch die Unterseite des Unterkiefers ist mit abwechselnden Streifen von Türkisplatten, zum Teil von der erwähnten Warzenform und roten Muschelschalstücken gebildet von denen zmei milchweiss geadert und 2, 7 cm. lang, 0, 7 cm. breit sind.

Die Zähne stehen zehn im Oberkiefer, ach im Unterkiefer, Sie sind aus weisser Muschelschale sehr sorgfältig geschnitzt. Im Oberkiefer, stecken jederseits zwei Backzähne, von denen einer zwei, der andere drei Kronen hat, je ein dreikroniger Backzahn, je ein Eckzahn und vier in einem Stück gearbeitete kleine Schneidezähne.

Die Augen bestehen ebenso wie die unteren Nasenteile aus einer homogenen dunkelbraunen Harzmasse mit gratter, anscheinend sorgfältig poliert Oberfläche. Ob dies aber der urprüngliche Zustand war, ist mir aus dem Grunde unwahrscheinlich, weil an der linken unteren Nasenpartie ein freilich nur ganz kleines Goldpartikelchen hängen geblieben ist. Doch lässt dies vermuten, dass die genaunten Teile einstmals mit dünner Goldfolie überzogen waren.

Hier wird man lebhaft an die von Oviedo erwähnten Mosaiken der Gegend von Tabasco erinnert, die Juan de Grijalva 1518 eintauschte. So erinnert z. B. die von ihm aufgezählte « testa di cane coperta di pietre minute, e molto ben fatta » in der Form auffallend an das eben beschriebene Stück, während bei den anderen von Oviedo erwähnten Mosaiken grade die Technik genau auf die erhaltenen Exemplare passt. Ich greife nur die Beschreibung von zwei Masken heraus :

« Una maschera di legno, che del naso in sù era coperta di minute pietre ben collocate, a modo d'opera musaica, lequale petruccie erano di colore coma turchine. Dal naso in giù era coverta d'una sottile sfoglia d'oro. »

« Un altra maschera della medesima maniera, ma l'opera di queste pietre era da gli occhi in sù, è da gli occhi in giù era d'una sottile sfoglia d'oro coperta »

Was demnach den Ursprung dieser und einer Reihe anderer Mosaiken anlangt, so kann wohl behauptet werden, dass sie nicht aus dem eigentlichen mexikanischen Culturkreis stammen, sondern aus dem Gebiet der benachbarten, weiter ostlich gele-

genen Länder. Insbesondere wäre an Tabasco zu denken. Hierfür sprechen noch eine Reihe anderer Momente, die hier aufzuführen aber nicht der Platz gestattet.

Es ist nicht unmöglich, dass die oben beschriebenen oder einer der anderen erhaltenen Mosaiken auf die Expedition Juan de Grijalva's (1518) zurückgeht. Die von ihm eingetauschten Kostbarkeiten gelangten in den Besitz des Statthalters von Cuba Namens Velasquez, der wohl das eine oder andere Stück an Carl V nach Spanien gesandt haben mag.

Was endlich den Zweck der beiden Berliner Mosaiken anlangt, so ist es sehr schwer, darüber irgend etwas sicheres zu sagen. Man geht aber wohl nicht fehl, wenn man annimmt, dass es Prunkstücke waren, die vielleicht bei sacralen Ceremonicen eine Rolle spielten. Einer bestimmten Deutung möchte ich mich jedoch enthalten.

DIE WANDSKULPTUREN IM

Tempel des Pulquegottes von Tepoztlan

PAR LE Dr EDUARD SELER, Berlin-Steglitz.

Das Hochtal von Mexico ist im Süden durch eine Bergkette abgeschlossen, die gewissermassen das Bindeglied zwischen der hochragenden Bergmasse des Popocatepetl und den Hochlande bildet, dem der Nevado de Toluca aufgesetzt ist. Wie die Endpunkte dieser Kette vulkanischen Kräften ihren Ursprung verdanken, so haben auch an dem Aufbaue der Kette selbst vulkanische Kräfte in wirksamster Weise mitgearbeitet. An dem Nordfusse dieses Gebirgs, gerade im Süden der Hauptstadt, breitet sich das gewaltige Lavafeld aus, das unter dem Namen « Pedregal » bekannt ist und das dem kleinen Vulkane Xictli seinen Ursprung verdankt, dessen Mündung etwa hundert Meter höher sich öffnet. Dem Kamme der Kette selbst ist der Ajusco (eigentlich *Axochco*) aufgesetzt, der seine Lavaströme und seine Tuffmassen weit über Cuernavaca hinaus entsendete. An der Südseite der Kette östlich von Cuernavaca, ist im Tale ein breiter flacher Kegel zu sehen, dessen Mündungsrand an einer Seite durchbrochen ist und der deshalb das « Hufeisen » genannt wird. Dann aber folgen, als gewaltige Klippen hoch in die Lüfte ragend und schon von weither sichtbar, die zernagten Ränder eines Riesenvulkans, der, zusamen mit einer von ihm aus nach Süden ziehenden Hügelkette, die Scheide zwischen dem Tale von Cuernavaca und dem von Uaxtepec, Quauhtla und Yauhtepec bildet. In dem Boden dieses Kraters befinden sich die Häuser und die Fruchtfelder des Dorfes Tepoztlan. Auf der Höhe der Klippen, die den Nordrand des Kraters bilden, an fast unzugänglicher Stelle, steht der Tempel, der dem Gotte dieser Landschaft, « dem (Gotte) von Tepoztlan », *Tepoztecatl*, dem Pulquegotte, gewidmet war, und der noch heute unter den

Bewohnern des Ortes als « Casa del Tepozteco, » als « Haus des (Gottes) von Tepoztlan, » bekannt ist.

Die Leute von Tepoztlan sprechen mexikanisch, wie es in alter Zeit die Bewohner der umliegenden Täler ganz allgemein taten. Von den Bewohnern der Hauptstadt Mexico und ihren Nachbarn wurden diese die warmen fruchtbaren Täler von Quauhnauac (das ist heutige Cuernavaca), von Uaxtepec, Yauhtepec und Quauhtla bewohnenden Stämme *Tlalhuica*, das heisst wohl « Erdleute, » oder « die die Erde (als Gott) haben » — genannt. Diesem Namen entspricht in der Tat alles, was wir von den Gottheiten jener Stämme wissen. Die Hauptgottheit des Tales von Cuernavaca scheint *Xochiquetzal* gewesen zu sein, die junge Göttin der Blumen und der Liebe, der der prächtige, noch heutigen Tags leidlich wohl erhaltene, reich mit Skulpturen bedeckte Tempel Xochicalco geweiht war, und der, wie wir durch den Interpreten des Codex Magliabecchiano XIII, 3 erfahren, im Herbste, zu der Zeit wo die Mexikaner das *Tepeilhuitl* das « Fest der Berggötter » feierten, von den Tlalhuica grosse Feste gefeiert wurden, an denen Saufereien and allerhand Unzucht zwischen unerwachsenen Knaben und Mädchen einen Hauptteil des Festes bildeten. Der Gott von Tepoztlan aber, *Tepoztecatl*, war einer aus der grossen Zahl von Göttern, die als Götter des Pulque's (*octli*), des süssen, aus dem Safte der Agave americana (*metl*) gowonnenen berauschenden Getränkes, von den Mexikanern verehrt wurden, und denen ebenfalls *in der Erntezeit* grosse, mit Trinkgelagen verbundene, oder geradezu in Saufereien und Debaucherien ausartende Feste gefeiert wurden.

Die Göttin der Agave-Pflanze, *Mayauel*, galt den Mexikanern als ein Weib mit hundert Brüsten, also als ein Abbild der Fruchtbarkeit. Und ein Sinnbild oder eine Verkörperung der fruchtbringenden Erde waren den Mexikanern auch die Pulquegötter, und ebenso die Göttin der Blumen und der Liebe *Xochiquetzal*. Darum auch diese *in der Erntezeit* diesen beiden Göttern mit Bacchanalien und mit geschlechtlichen Ausschweifungen gefeierten Feste. Sie veranschaulichten eben die Fruchtbarkeit, oder sie waren geradezu ein Zauber, durch die man auch für die Folgezeit die Fruchtbarkeit der Erde sich sichern wollte. Die Vornahme solcher zauber icher Handlungen hat man in

neuerer Zeit für das Wesen und den Ausgangspunkt jeder Religion erklärt. Die höchsten Aeusserungen schaffender dichterischer Phantasie, das altgriechische Drama und die gleichwertigen Schöpfungen anderer Völker erschienen unter diesem Gesichtswinkel nur als die veredelten Formen ähnlicher grobsinnlicher magischer Zeremonien. Es scheint indes, dass weder bei den antiken Göttern der Liebe und des Weins, noch bei den verwandten Gestalten anderer Völker die Idee der Fruchtbarkeit oder der geschechtliche Akt die ursprüngliche Vorstellung war. Und gerade bei den mexikanischen Vertretern dieser Klasse von Gottheiten liegt es eigentlich klar zu Tage, dass sie nur Ausgestaltungen, Weiterentwicklungen einer andern allgemein verehrten alten primitiven Gottheit waren, der *Gottheit des Mondes*, der eben in seiner Phasenbildung, in dem Abnehmen und Zunehmen, in seinem Sterben (zur Zeit der Konjunktion mit der Sonne) und in seiner Wiedererneuerung (wenn er als schmale Sichel wieder am Abendhimmel sichtbar wird), ein Sinnbild und Abbild des Absterbens und der Wiedererneuerung ist und deshalb, durch einen natürlichen und ganz allgemein gemachten Trugschluss, geradezu als *Ursache jedes Wachstums und jeder Wiedererneuerung* betrachtet wurde.

Aus der ursprünglichen Mondnatur erklärt sich zunächst der Name der Pulquegötter, die *Centzon totochtin* « Vierhundert (d. h. unzählige) Kaninchen » genannt wurden. Denn das Kaninchen (*tochtli*) ist das Abbild des Mondes, der Mann im Monde, der Mond selbst. Als Sonne und Mond geschaffen worden waren, da leuchteten, wie die Mexikaner erzählten, ursprünglich die beiden Himmelsköper mit dem gleichen Glanze. Aber als die Götter dieses sahen, schlugen sie dem Monde mit einem Kaninchen ins Gesicht. Dadurch verdunkelte sich sein Glanz und das Bild des Kaninchens ist seitdem immer auf der Fläche des Mondes zu sehen. Bekanntlich nannten auch die Sanskrit sprechenden Bewohner des Induslandes den Mond *çaçin*, d. h. den « mit dem Hasen. » Und in der Tat, unter dem Gesichtswinkel, unter dem der Mond uns in den Tropen erscheint, sieht der « Mann im Monde » wirklich wie ein sich aufrichtendes (Männchen machendes) Kaninchen aus. Die Mexikaner bildeten den Mond denn auch hieroglyphisch in der Weise ab, dass sie in dunklem, nächtigem, mit Augen besetztem

Felde (dem Abbilde der Nacht oder des Sternhimmels) einen zu der Form eines Nasenhalb mondes (*yacametztli*) gebogenen, in der Farbe eines Totenknochens gemalten Halbmond zeichneten, den sie mit der Farbe und den Linien des Wassers füllten und auf diesem Wasser dann in weisser Farbe das Bild eines aufgerichteten (Männchen machenden) Kaninchens wiedergaben (vgl. Abb. 1).



Abb. 1a *Metztli*, der Mond und *Tlaçolteotl*, die Mond göttin. Codex Borgia 55.

Aber nicht nur in dem Namen der Pulquegötter spricht sich ihre Mondnatur aus, auch in allen ihren Abzeichen : — Die Pulquegötter tragen den *yacametztli*, den « Nasenhalbmond, » in der Nase, denselben in der Farbe des Totenknochens gemalten Halbring, den wir eben in der Hieroglyphe des Mondes (Abb. 1) gesehen haben, der aber häufig auch die Form eines einfachen, mit gelber Farbe (der Farbe des Goldes) gemalten Halbmondes hat. Und das Hell und Dunkel, die Phasenbildung des Mondes, die zur Hälfte erleuchtete, zur Hälfte dunkle Scheibe, — von den Mexikanern als schwarzes und rotes Feld (*tlillan, tlapallan*) wiedergegeben, — ist die Besonderheit der Gesichtsbemalung der Pulquegötter und das auszeichnende Merkmal ihrer Tracht (vgl. Abb. 2a — c). Der Nasenhalbmond (*yacametztli*) oder der Farbengegensatz von Schwarz und Rot (*tlillan tlapallan*), durch schwarz und rote Felder oder abwechselnde schwarze und rote Felder markiert, oder eine Kombination beider

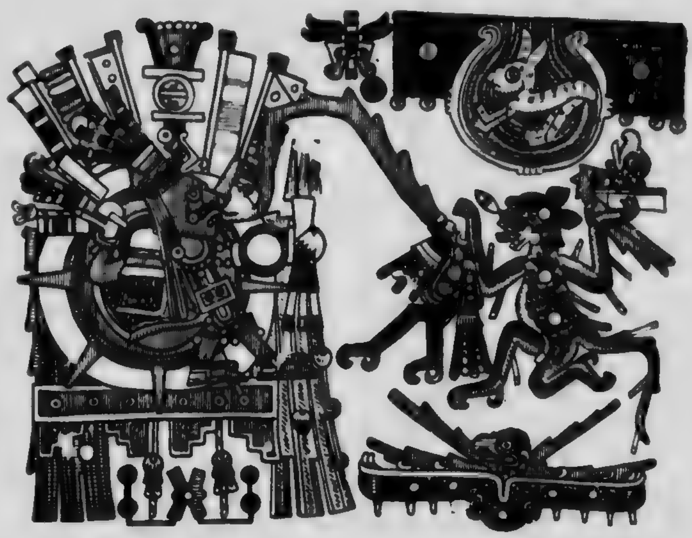


Abb. 1b. Sonne, Morgenstern und Mond.
Codex Borgia 71.

Merkmale, kann geradezu als Emblem der Pulquegottheit bezeichnet werden (vgl. Abb. 3-5).

Endlich wird in mythischen Berichten der Mond geradezu mit dem Embleme der Pulquegottheiten, dem Pulquetopfe (*octecomatl* oder *tochtecomatl*) identifiziert. In einem aus den ersten Zeiten nach der Conquista stammenden, in aztekischer Sprache geschriebenen Manuskripte, der « Historia de Colhuacan y Mexico, » — das ist der eigentliche Titel des früher als « Codex Chimalpopoca » beschriebenen und in den Anales del Museo Nacional de Mexico unter dem Titel « Anales de Quauhtitlan » leider unvollständing und fehlerhaft veröffentlichten Manuskriptes, — lesen wir : — « auh in iquac inic ya in ilhuicac in tonatiuh, niman ye yauh in metztli . . . auh in ouacic in ilhuicatenco, niman tochtecomatica conixamauico in Papaztac » « und nachdem die Sonne am Himmel sich in Bewegung gesetzt hatte, geht auch der Mond . . . und als er am Rande des Himmels (oder des Meeres ?) angelangt war, umhüllte ihn *Papaztac* (das ist der Name eines der Pulquegötter) mit Papierstreifen nach Art eines Kaninchentopfes (d. h. eines Pulquetopfes). »

Als Pulquegötter werden nun in den Quellen eine ganze Anzhl verschiedener Götter genannt, deren Namen zumeist patronymische Form haben, d. h. von einem Ortsnamen abgeleitet sind. Diese Wachstums-und Erntegötter genossen eben weithin und überall Verehrung und krystallisierten sich nur zu besondern Gestalten, wo ein besonderes, ihrem Kult geweihtes Heiligtum sich befand. *Tepoztecatl*, der Gott von Tepoztlan, scheint eine hervorragende Stelle unter ihnen



Abb. 2a *Tepoztecatl*, der Pulquegott von *Tepoztlan*.
Codex Magliabecchiano XIII, 3 fol. 49.

eingenommen zu haben. Denn in der Reihe der Pulquegötter, die im Codex Magliabecchiano XIII, 3 genannt und in ganzer Gestalt und mit ihren Namenshieroglyphen abgebildet sind, steht er an erster Stelle (vgl. Abb. 2a). Der Schreiber des Codex Magliabecchiano scheint allerdings mit den Verhältnissen

der Tlalhuica besonders vertraut gewesen zu sein und war vermutlich nicht fern von diesem Lande zu Hause.



Abb. 26 Einer der *Centzon Totochtin*, der "400 Kaninchen", d. h. der Pulquegötter. Sahagun M. S. Biblioteca del Palacio, Madrid

Der Tempel *Tepoztecatl's* war natürlich nur ein kleines Provinzheiligtum, aber durch seine Lage auf nahezu unzugänglicher Klippe und gerade über dem Talgrunde, der die Häuser und die Fruchtfelder des Dorfes trug, ausgezeichnet. In seinen allgemeinen Verhältnissen ist er geradezu ein typisches Beispiel eines alten mexikanischen Heiligtums. Als im Jahre 1895 in der Hauptstadt Mexico der 11. internationale Amerikanisten kongress tagte, haben die patriotischen Bewohner Tepoztlan's, auf Anregung des auch aus diesem Dorfe stammenden Ingenieurs Francisco M. Rodriguez, der gegenwärtig Leiter des Museo Nacional de Mexico ist, den Tempel, der unter dem Schutte des eingestürzten Daches vergraben war, freilegen lassen. Herr Rodriguez hat einen Plan dieses Tempels aufgenommen, der zuerst von Saville in seiner Beschreibung der Ruine (1) und dann von mir in einem Aufsatze, den ich diesem Tempel und seinem Gotte gewidmet habe, (2) veröffentlicht worden ist und den ich hier in Ab. 6 wiedergebe (Siehe S. 350). Man sieht, dass der Tempel sich auf einem Unterbaue erhebt, der an der Westseite von einem kleinen Hofe begrenzt ist. Auf dieser Westseite führt von dem Hofe eine Treppe zu der Höhe der obern Plattform, und

(1) Marshall H. Saville, Bulletin Am. Museum of Natural History, New York Vol. VIII.

(2) Seler, Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur amerikanischen Sprach und Altertumskunde, Band 2. Berlin 1905. Seite 205.

nach der Westseite ist auch das Sakrarium geöffnet, das auf dieser Plattform sich befindet. Nach Westen schaute das Idol, das in der Tempelzelle stand. Denn der Westen, die Region, wo die Sonne in die Erde versank, und wo der junge Mond am Himmel sichtbar wurde, die Gegend, wo die Mächte, die Geburt and Wachstum beherrschten, die Mondgötter, — und demnach auch die Pulquegötter, — ihre Heimat hatten, das war das *Tamoanchan*, das Haus des Herabsteigens, d. h. das Haus der

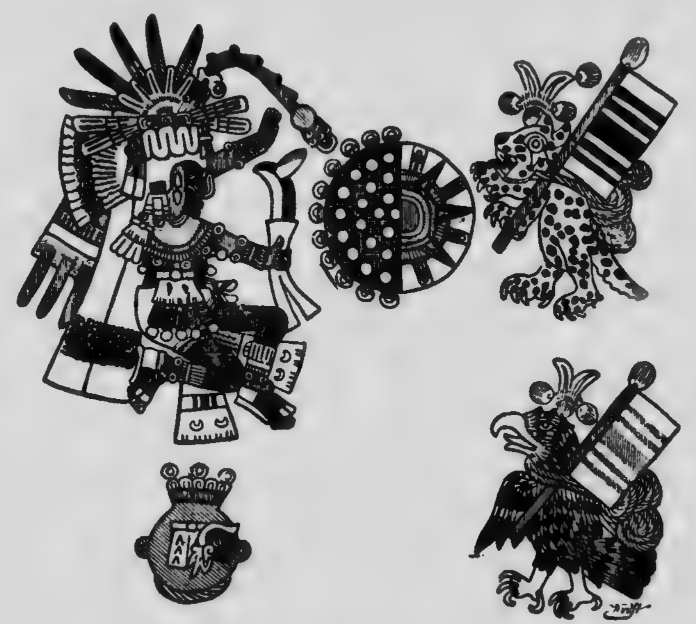


Abb. 2c *Pàtecatl*, der Pulquegott, Regent des XI. Tonalamatl Abschnittes. Codex Borbonicus 11.

Geburt; das *Cincalli*, das Haus, wo der Maisgott geboren und von wo die Maisfrucht den Menschen gebracht wurde; und das *Colhuacan*, der Wohnort der Vorfahren, wo die Vorfahren der gegenwärtig das Land bewohnenden Stämme zuerst auf der Erde erschienen sind.

Das Sakrarium selbst hat nur geringe Dimensionen. Es zerfällt in eine nach vorn, nach Westen, vollständig offne Vorhalle, in deren Mitte eine viereckige Vertiefung wohl den

Feuerplatz bezeichnet, und in die eigentliche Tempelzelle, in der, an der Mitte der Hinterwand, auf einem kleinen viereckigen Postamente das Idol sich befand. Letzteres ist verschwunden. Aber erhalten ist noch ein Relief (Abb. 7), das Saville beschreibt und das an hervorragender Stelle, an der Südwand der untern Pyramidenstufe eingemauert war, aber leider herausgenommen



Abb. 3. « manta de conejo » [*ometochtilmàtli*]
Codex Magliabecchiano XIII, 3 fof. 4 verso.

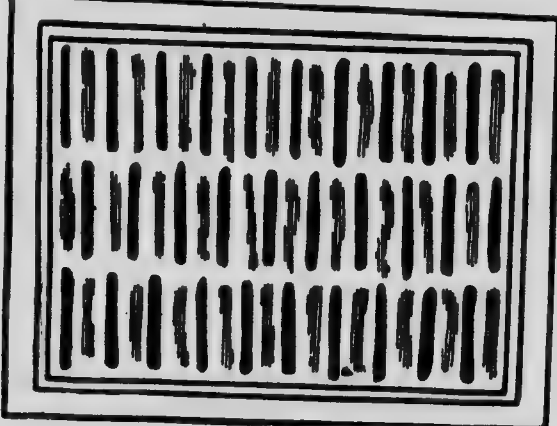


Abb. 4 « manta de dos conejos » [*ometochtilmàtli*].
Codex Magliabecchiano XIII, 3. fol. 5.

worden ist und jetzt in dem Museo Nacional de Mexico sich befindet. Das Relief stellt ein fabelhaftes kleines Wassertier vor und ist die Hieroglyphe für den Namen des Königs *Auitzotl*. Das war der unmittelbare Vorgänger des jüngern Motecuhçoma, des unglücklichen Herrschers, der in den Kämpfen zwischen den empörten Mexikanern und den in einem Palaste der Hauptstadt verschanzten Spaniern sein Ende fand. Unter diesem Könige Auitzotl, der den politischen Einfluss Mexico's weit nach Süden, bis zu den Ländern der pazifischen Küste, der Mixteca baja, Tehuantepec und Soconusco ausdehnte, scheint also auch dieses Heiligtum gebaut oder erneuert worden zu sein. Auf einer zweiten Platte, die sich neben der mit der Hieroglyphe Auitzotl befand, sind ein Kaninchen und zehn Kreise abgebildet. Diese scheinen das Jahr *matlactli tochtli* „ zehn Kaninchen "zu bezeichnen, das dem Jahre 1502 der christlichen Zeitrechnung entspricht und das letzte Regierungsjahr Auitzotl's, bzw, das Jahr war, in dem er starb. In diesem Jahre scheint demnach der Tempel von Tepoztlan gebaut oder erneuert worden zu sein.



Abb. 5 *ometochtlauizitli* "Devise des Pulquegottes."
Sahagun MS. Academia de la Historia, Madrid.

Erhalten sind ferner, wenigstens zum Teil, an dem Tempel von Tepoztlan die Reliefe, die die Pfeiler zu beiden Seiten des Eingangs in die Tempelzelle schmückten (Abb. 8 und 9); und erhalten sind endlich die Reliefbänder, die an der Vorderseite bankartiger Wandvorsprünge an der Nord-und Südseite der Vorhalle und an der Nord, Ost-und Südwand der Tempelzelle angebracht sind. Diese Reliefe, in denen eine eigenartige Symbolik zum Ausdrucke zu kommen schien, erregten meine Auf-

merksamkeit. Leider aber waren die Photographien, die ich von ihnen zu Gesicht bekam, unvollständig und in den Einzelheiten nicht genau zu erkennen. So entschlossen wir uns denn, meine Frau und ich, als wir vor anderthalb Jahren, nach der Weltausstellung in St. Louis, noch einmal das Land unserer Studien aufgesucht hatten, von diesen Reliefen Abklatsche zu machen, wozu uns der Inspector und Konservator der Altertümer der Republik Mexico, Herr Leopoldo Batres auch bereitwilligst



Abb. 6. Grundriss der *Casa del Tepozteco*. Aufgenommen vom Ing... Francisco M. Rodriguez.

die Erlaubnis gab. Die Abklatsche waren etwas schwierig zu machen, da das Gestein, aus dem der Tempel gebaut ist, eine blasige Lava, eine unglaublich rauhe, geradezu in Spitzen aufgelöste Aussenfläche zeigt. Die Mühe hat sich aber doch gelohnt. Es haben sich von den Abklatschen ganz brauchbare Abgüsse herstellen lassen, die jetzt im königlichen Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin aufgestellt sind. Nach ihnen sind die Zeichnungen gefertigt worden, die ich hier in Abb 9-15 wiedergegeben habe.



Abb 7. Hieroglyphe des mexikanischen Königs *Auitzotl.*

Ich will zunächst die Verzierungen besprechen, die an den einander zugekehrten Enden der Halbwände angebracht sind, die die Vorhalle von der Tempelzelle scheiden (Abb. 8, 9), und die diese Enden wie Pfeiler erscheinen lassen, die den Eingang zur Tempelzelle flankieren. Die Verzierungen haben hier an der der Vorhalle und dem Eingange zur Tempelzelle zugekehrten Seite vermutlich bis zur Höhe des Daches gereicht. Da aber das Dach wahrscheinlich ein Strohdach war,—wie das des Haupttempels des benachbarten Quauhnauac (Cuernavaca), von dem wir im Codex Telleriano-Remensis eine Abbildung haben-so ist bei der Zerstörung des Tempels, die in der ersten spanischen Zeit und durch Brand erfolgt sein wird, auch der obere Teil der Wand zerstört worden, und die Vernachlässigung während mehr als dreier Jahrhunderte wird dann wohl auch noch ihren Teil zur weiteren Herunterarbeitung der Wände beigetragen haben. Immerhin kann man noch heute (vgl. 8, 9) deutlich erkennen, dass der obere Teil dieser Eingangspfeiler an der der Vorhalle und dem Eingange zur Tempelzelle zugekehrten Seite in seinerganzen Breite von einer grossen Figur der Hieroglyphe *chalchiuitl* (grüner Edelstein, Jadëit) eingenommen war. Der Chalchiuitl war den Maxikanern das Sinnbild oder der Inbegriff der Kostbarkeit. Die Hieroglyphe chalchiuitl wurde daher, wie wir in den Bilderschriften, dem Codex Borgia, der Wiener Handschrift und dem Codex Nuttall sehen, ganz allgemein an dem Unterbaue, auf dem Dache oder an den Wandpfeilern der Tempel angebracht, um diese Bauten als „Orte der Kostbar-

keit«, d. h. als »Orte des Opfers oder des Opferblutes« zu bezeichnen. — Unter der Hieroglyphe *chalchiuitl* sieht man in den Abbildungen 8 und 9 ein Band von Stufenmäandern, das an dem Nordpfeiler (Abb. 8) ein etwas komplizierteres Muster hat als an dem Südpfeiler (Abb. 9). Unter ihm folgt ein schmales Band mit kleinen (Scheiben? Augen?) und ein breiter Streifen gerade herab laufender rechtwinklig begrenzter Erhebungen, die wohl herabhängende Federn bezeichnen sollen.

Die Reliefe, die an der Vorderseite der bankartigen Vorsprünge an der Unterseite der Zimmerwände angebracht sind, stellen eine Folge einzelner Symbole dar. In der Vorhalle sind

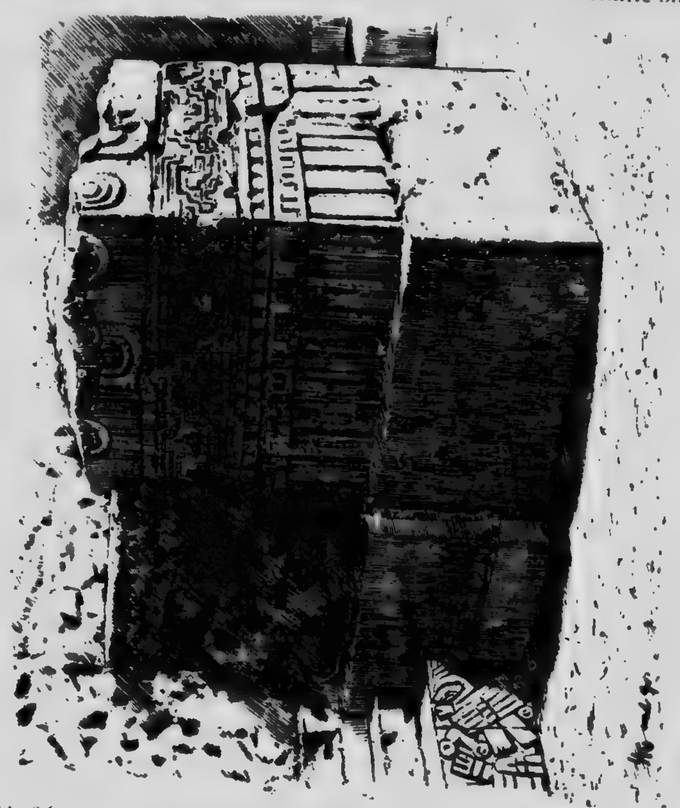


Abb. 8 (1:14 nat. gr.) — Relief am Nordpfeiler des Eingangs in die Tempelzelle (Nach einer Photographie C. B. Waite's).

an der Nordseite deren vier vorhanden (Abb. 14); an der Südseite sind nur zwei erhalten (Abb. 15.) In der Tempelzelle waren, wie es scheint, ursprünglich achtzehn solcher Symbole angebracht, von denen vier auf die Nordwand (Abb. 10), je fünf auf die beiden Hälften der Ostwand (Abb. 11, 12) und vier auf die Südwand (Abb. 13) kamen. In der Nordhälfte der Ostwand fehlen zwei der Platten. Ueber den achtzehn Symbolen zog sich noch ein schmales Reliefband hin, in dem ebenfalls einzelne Symbole, aber geringerer Grösse und in Abständen, einander folgen. Dieses obere Band ist aber so stark verwittert und zerstört, dass sich die Folge der Symbole in ihrer Kontinuität nicht mehr wiederherstellen lässt. Wo die Zeichen erhalten waren, haben wir einen Abklatsch genommen und diese Stücke sind in den Abbildungen 10 und 12 an den entsprechenden Stellen wiedergegeben worden.

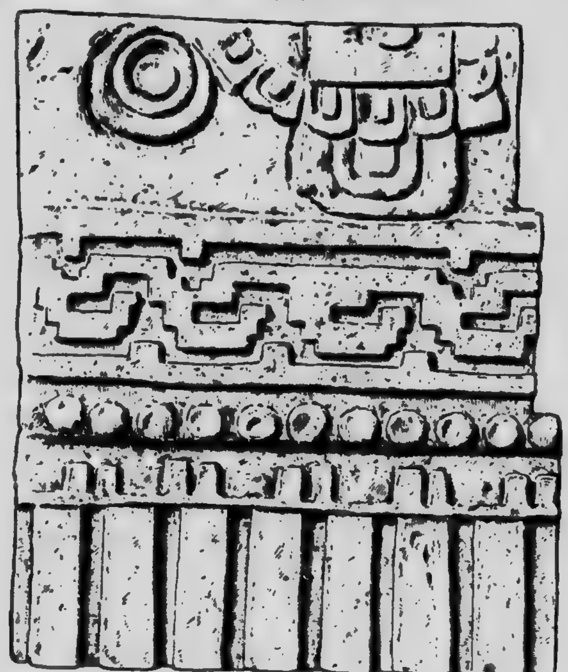


Abb 9. (1 10 nat. gr.) — Relief am Südpfeiler des Eingangs in die Tempelzelle (Nach einem von uns genommenen Abklatsche)



Abb. 10 (1/10 nat. gr.) Nordseite der Tempelzelle.

Abb. 11 (1/10 nat. gr.) Nordhälfte der Ostseite der Tempelzelle.

Ich beginne mit den Symbolen, die die Wände der Tempelzelle umziehen (Abb. 10-13). Man sieht zunächst auf den ersten Blick, dass diese (ursprünglich) achtzehn Symbole sich in zwei Reihen ordnen, die ihre Front dem Idole, das in der Mitte der Ostwand sich befand, zukehren. Die eine kann als die Nordreihe bezeichnet werden. Sie beginnt

mit dem Symbole an dem rechten Ende der Abbildung 11, das ich mit dem Buchstaben a versehen habe. Die andere ist die Südreihe. Sie beginnt mit dem Symbole an dem linken Ende der Abbildung 12, neben das ich den Buchstaben k gesetzt habe.

Die erste Figur der Nordreihe (a. Abb. 11) zeigt uns die mexikanische Königskrone, den mit Türkismosaik inkrustierten, zu einem spitz aufragenden Blatte dreieckiger Gestalt sich erweiternden, mit Riemen um den Kopf gebundenen Reif, den die Mexikaner mit dem Namen *xiuhuitzolli* bezeichneten. Die Türkisinkrustation ist, trotz der Verwitterung des Gesteins in unserer Figur noch deutlich zu erkennen. Ebenso die hinten zu einer Schleife gebundenen Riemen. Ueber dem Reife ist das Kopfhaar angedeutet. In ihm stecken zwei Federbanner. Unter dem Reife ist eine dreilappige Zeichnung angegeben, über deren eigentliche Bedeutung ich mich vorläufig noch nicht auszusprechen wage.

Die zweite Figur der Nordreihe (b. Abb. 10) ist durch die Verwitterung des Gesteins etwas undeutlich geworden. Ein Vergleich aber mit den Figuren m, Abb. 12 und *d*, Abb. 14 lehrt, dass ein Steinbeil *(itztopolli)* hier dargestellt ist, die bekannte Waffe, mit der die Pulquegötter im Sahagun-Manuskripte, im Codex Magliabecchiano XIII, 3, im Codex Telleriano-Remensis und in andern Handschriften abgebildet werden (vgl. oben Abb. 2). Man erkennt den hölzernen Stiel mit dem kolbig angeschwollenen Ende, dem die Steinklinge genau in der Weise eingefügt ist, wie wir das an Steinbeilen südamerikanischer Indianerstämme, z. B. des Xingú-Gebietes, noch heute sehen. Der Stiel ist mit einer Binde aus Rindenpapier geschmückt, von der zwei breite Enden nach unten hängen und die mit einer künstlich geschlungenen, vier Knoten bildenden Schleife auf dem Stiele befestigt ist. Ströme von Flüssigkeit rinnen von der Klinge auf beiden Seiten nach unten. Aehnliche Ströme sind bei der Mehrzahl auch der übrigen Symbole zu sehen. Wo die Farbe erhalten ist, sind diese Ströme rot gemalt, müssen also *Blut*, d. h. wohl Opferblut bedeuten.

Die dritte Figur der Nordreihe (c, Abb. 11) zeigt uns ein menschliches Gesicht von eigentümlicher Profillinie. Das Auge ist bis auf einen schmalen Schlitz geschlossen und ein von parallelen Linien begrenzter Streifen durchzieht unterhalb des

Auges die ganze Länge des Gesichts. Diese beiden Merkmale weisen darauf hin, dass in dieser Figur das Gesicht *Xipe Totec*'s wiedergegeben sein soll, des Gottes, der in die abgezogene Haut des Opfers gekleidet einhergeht, und dessen Gesicht auch von einer aus Menschenhaut gefertigten Maske bedeckt ist. Der schmale Augenschlitz entspricht dem geschlossenen Auge des toten Menschengesichts, und der breite Längsstreifen, der in den Bilderschriften und bemalten Tonbildern des Gottes mit roter Farbe angegeben wird, bezeichnet vielleicht einen Schnitt, den der Priester, der das Opfer enthäutete, bei dem Abziehen der Gesichtshaut zu machen genötigt war. Wie bei andern Symbolen der beihen Reihen, sieht man auch von diesem Xipe-Gesichte ringsherum Ströme, die Blut bedeuten müssen, tropfen.

Die vierte und fünfte Figur der Nordreihe fehlen. Die sechste (f. Abb. 10) ist das Bild des Krieges (*yaoyotl*), durch einen Rundschild (*chimalli*), ein Bündel Speere (*mitl tlacochtli*), eine Handfahne (*macpamitl*) und vermutlich auch, doch ist das nicht mehr deutlich zu sehen, ein Wurfbrett (*atlatl*) veranschaulicht. Blut ist auch hier, von der Trophäe tropfend, angegeben.

Das siebente Bild, (g. Abb. 10) führt uns wieder den Gott dieses Tempels, den Pulquegott, vor Augen, indem wir hier eine Trophäe abgebildet sehen, die genau dem entspricht, das in dem Sahagun-Manuskripte der Academia de la Historia in Madrid als *ometochtlauiztli* « Devise des Gottes zwei Kaninchen », d. h. « Devise des Pulquegottes » abgebildet und beschrieben wird (vgl. oben S. 349 Abb. 5). Es ist eine Imitation des Pulquetopfes (*octecomatl* oder *ometochtecomatl*), mit seinen flügelartigen Seitenteilen, den drei Füssen, (die durch Anhänge in Gestalt von Augen repräsentiert sind), und dem Wahrzeichen des Pulquegottes, dem Nasenhalbmonde (*yacametztli*) auf der Fläche. Der gelappte Rand dieses Halbmondes entspricht den knotigen Auswüchsen, die, um seine knochige Beschaffenheit zum Ausdruck zu bringen, an ihm angebracht zu werden pflegen, die aber gelegentlich auch in rein ornamentale Ausgestaltungen sich entwickein. Aus der Mündung des Gefässes schäumt das Getränk heraus und tropft an den Seiten des Gefässes herunter.

Das achte Bild (h. Abb. 10) zeigt uns auf einer Unterlage,



Abb. 12 (1 10 nat. gr.) Südhälfte der Ostseite der Tempelzelle.



Abb. 13 (1 10 nat. gr.)— Südseite der Tempelzelle.

die, wie es scheint, eine aus Binsen geflochtene Matte vorstellen soll, ein Auge in einem Wasserstrome.

Das folgende neunte Bild, das letzte der Nordreihe (i. Abb. 10), ist etwas schwierig zu deuten. Es ist etwas Umbundenes, das eine Art Stiel zu enthalten scheint, das oben wie ein Haarschopf aussieht, und von dem unten ein mächtiger Blutstrom ausgeht. Ich möchte dies, allerdin nur hypothetisch, als das Wirbelhaar deuten, das man dem K. iegsgefangenen, der zum Opfer bestimmt war, in der Nacht vor dem Opfer in der Mitternachtsstunde abschnitt.

Die Südreihe beginnt auf der andern Seite des Idols mit dem Bilde k, Abb. 12, das anscheinend dasselbe Gebilde, das abgeschnittene Wirbelhaar des zum Opfer Bestimmten (?), uns vor Augen führt.

Das elfte Bild, das zweite der Südreihe (l, Abb. 12) zeigt uns wieder die Waffen des Krieges *(yaoyotl)*, Schild, Sperrbündel und Handfahne, -aber der Schild ist hier viereckig; er hat einen Behang von Federn und trägt den Nasenhalbmond *(yacametztli)*, das Abzeichen des Pulquegottes, als Emblem auf seiner Fläche.

Das zwölfte Bild, das dritte der Südreihe (m. Abb. 12) ist wieder ein Steinbeil *(itztopolli)*. Als Besonderheit ist nur zu bemerken, dass hier dem obern Stielende ein gestieltes halbmondförmiges Gebilde aufgesetzt ist, das in der Form den Kupfermessern, die in Mengen im Zapotekengebiete gefunden werden, entspricht.

Das folgende dreizehnte Bild, das vierte der Südreihe (n, Abb. 12), stellt ein menschliches Ohr *(nacaztli)* vor. Ein beilförmiger Pflock *(nacochtli)* steckt in der Öffnung des Ohrläppchens, wie solche als Ohrschmuck der Mumie des toten Kriegers gegeben wurden. Der obere Rand des Ohres ist ab. oder eingeschnitten. Das soll ohne Zweifel die Einschnitte kennzeichnen, die sich der Fromme bei der Selbstkasteiung in den Rand des Ohres machte. In den Berichten der Konquistadoren wird immer hervorgehoben, dass die Priester und die Vornehmen dieser Stämme die Ohren « harpados », d. h. am Rande lappig oder kammartig zerschnitten, hatten.

Das vierzehnte Bild, das fünfte der Südreihe (o, Abb. 12) zeigt uns einen geflochtenen Ring und in seinem Innern einen

Wasserstrom. Der erstere ist das bekannte Symbol und die Hieroglyphe des Fastens (*neçaualli*).

Das fünfzehnte Bild, das sechste der Südreihe (p. Abb. 13) stellt einen Schädel vor, der, wie die Schädelbilder in den mexikanischen Handschriften ganz allgemein, in der Schläfengegend ein grosses Loch zeigt. Es entspricht dem Loche, das man in den Schädel machen musste, um ihn auf Querstangen des Gerüstes (*tzompantli*), auf dem man die Köpfe der Geopferten vor dem Tempel aufzustellen pflegte, autzureihen. Zwei Ströme kommen hier aus diesem Loche heraus. Das ist wohl das Homologon der Blutströme, die die andern Symbole dieser beiden Reihen umgeben.

Das sechszehnte Bild, das siebente der Südreihe (q, Abb. 13) ist eine Abbreviatur der Hieroglyphe *chalchiuitl* (grüner Edelstein, Jadëit) in einem Wasserstrome (*atl*). Das giebt zusammen *chalchiuhatl* «Edelsteinwasser,» «kostbares Wasser,» ein Wort, mit dem man das Opferblut und das Blut, das man sich bei den Kasteiungen entzog, zu bezeichnen pflegte.

Das siebzehnte Bild, das achte der Südreihe (r, Abb. 13), soll wohl einen abgeschnittenen Jaguarfuss bedeuten. Die Klauen sehen allerdings fast mehr wie Menschenfinger aus. Aber der ganze Umriss und die Flecken legen es doch nahe, vielmehr an einen Jaguar zu denken. Aus dem obern abgeschnittenen Ende kommt ein Strom von Blut heraus.

Das achtzehnte Bild endlich, das letzte der Südreihe (s, Abb. 13) ist die bekannte Gestalt des Tieres mit den abgeschnittenen Ohren, des Hundes (*Itzcuintli*), der aber auch für den hundsköpfigen Gott, *Xolotl*, den Blitzgott, den in die Tiefe fahrenden, den Hund, der die Sonne zu den Toten geleitet, stehen könnte. Hinter ihm scheint eine Höhle, oder ein pflanzliches Gebilde, das eine Höhle enthält, — und letzteres müsste, nach gewissen Figuren der Handschriften der Codex Borgia-Gruppe zu schliessen, *metl*, die Agavepflanze sein, —angedeutet zu sein.

Ueberblicken wir nun die Gesammtheit dieser Bilder, so zeigt sich, dass wir in ihnen wiederholte Hinweise auf den Character des Gottes, dem dieser Tempel geweiht war, den Pulquegott, vor uns haben: — Figur b und m zeigten uns das Steinbeil (*itztopolli*), die Waffe der Pulquegötter; *g* ist das

ometochtlanizlli, die Devise der Pulquegötter, eine Imitation des Pulquetopfes; i zeigte uns auf dem viereckigen Kriegerschilde den Nasenhalbmond (*yacametztli*), das Abzeichen der Pulquegötter; s vielleicht, die Agavepflanze (*metl*), aus der der Pulque bereitet wird. Andere Bilder deuten auf Krieg und Opfer hin: Auf Krieg die Figuren f und l; auf Opfer die Bilder o (Fasten *neçaualli*); q (Opferblut, *chalchiuhatl*); p. (Schädel, *tzontecomatl*); n (das Ohr, *nacaztli*, mit dem eingeschnittenen Ende); *i* und *k*, vielleicht Veranschaulichungen des abgeschnittenen Wirbelhaares des Opfers. Auf Opfer endlich deuten auch die Blutströme, die wir bei einer ganzen Anzahl dieser Symbole gefunden haben. In andern Bildern (a, c, h, r, s,) liegen andere besondere Beziehungen vor.

Symbole, die mit dem Pulquegotte und mit dem Opfer in Zusammenhang stehen, scheinen übrigens auch durch die kleinen Bilder in der schmalen Leiste über den Hauptbildern zur Anschauung gebracht zu sein. Denn wir können z. B. über l, m, n, deutlich den Nasenhalbmond (*yacametztli*) der Pulquegötter, das Ohr (*nacaztli*) mit dem beilförmigen Ohrpflocke (*nacochtli*) und das abgeschnittene und mit einer Schleife umbundene Wirbelhaar erkennen.

Wir müssen nun aber auch fragen, ob diese Symbole hier nur in ornamentaler Weise Verwendung gefunden haben, oder ob sie nach irgend einem Gesetze an einander gereiht worden sind. Da scheint es mir denn zunächst bedeutsam zu sein, dass diese die Tempelzelle umziehenden Bilder in der Zahl von achtzehn vorhanden sind, oder vorhanden waren, d. h. gerade in der Zahl, die die Anzahl der verschiedenen in jedem Jahre gefeierten Feste angiebt, d. h. die Zeiträume von zwanzig Tagen (*tlapoualli*), von denen achtzehn auf ein Jahr gehen. Es muss einem die Idee kommen, dass die achtzehn Symbole unsers Tempels diesen achtzehn Festen, die Nordreihe der Symbole einer Nordhälfte, die Südreihe einer Südhälfte des Jahres entsprechen. Es würde, bei dieser Annahme, nur die Frage zu entscheiden sein, wo und bei welchem Feste wir den Anfang zu setzen haben würden. Die Nordreihe beginnt mit a (an der rechten Seite der Abbildung 11), und das dritte Bild der Nordreihe, c, zeigt uns, wie es scheint, den Kopf *Xipe Totec*'s, "unsers Herrn, des Geschundenen," des Frühlingsgottes. Wenn

eine solche Parallele zwischen unsern achtzehn Symbolen und den achtzehn Jahresfesten überhaupt zu ziehen ist, so müsste c. das Fest *Xipe's*, das *tlacaxipeualiztli*, das « Menschenschinden, » bezeichnen, und es müsste darnach die Nordseite der Symbole in a mit dem Bilde des *Izcalli*, des « Wachstums, » des Festes des Feuergottes, beginnen.

Führen wir nun diesen Gedanken durch, so ist zunächst, was das erste Bild (a, Abb. 11) betrifft, klar, dass das *xiuhuitzolli*, die mit Türkismosaik inkrustierte Krone, mit den Federbannern, die dieses Bild uns zeigt, in der Tat als eine direkte Hieroglyphe des Feuergottes *Xiuhtecutli*, des Gottes des *Izcalli*-Festes, betrachtet werden kann. Denn dieser Gott enthält das Wort *tecutli* « König, Fürst, » das hieroglyphisch, z. B. in den Stadtnamen des Codex Mendoza, durch ein *xiuhuitzolli* zum Ausdruck gebracht zu werden pflegt, und das Wort *xiuitl* « Türkis » in seinem Namen, und er wird auch, im Codex Telleriano-Remensis und in andern Bilderschriften, regelmässig mit dem *xiuhuitzolli* auf dem Haupte dargestellt, gleich *Tonacatecutli*, dem Herrn der Lebensmittel, und *Mictlantecutli*, dem Herrn der Unterwelt, - den andern beiden Göttern, die gleichfalls das Wort *tecutli* « Fürst » in ihrem Namen haben. Die dreilappige Zeichnung, die in dem Bilde a, Abb. 11, unter der Krone zu sehen ist, — ein Element, das ich a priori nicht zu deuten wagte, — möchte ich darnach jetzt als ein Bild des Feuers erklären.

Das zweite Bild der Nordreihe (b, Abb. 11) müsste, nach der obigen Annahme, dem *atl cauallo* oder *quauitl eua*, dem ersten Jahresfeste nach der gewöhnlichen Zählung, entsprechen, das in Mexico den Regengöttern, insbesondere den lokalen Genien, den auf Bergen, Klippen und in Wasserlöchern heimischen Gottheiten, gefeiert wurde. Dieses Fest müsste hier durch das Steinbeil *(itztopolli)*, die Waffe der Pulquegötter, repräsentiert sein. Man kann sich das ganz gut zusammenreimen, denn die Pulquegötter sind Wachstums—und Fruchtbarkeitsgötter, gleich den Regengöttern.

Das dritte Bild der Nordreihe (c, Abb. 11), das Gesicht *Xipe*'s, bezeichnet natürlich das *tlacaxipeualiztli*, das Frühjahrsfest des « Menschenschindens. »

Für *Toçoztontli* und *Ueitoçoztli* würden entsprechende

Bilder in der Reihe unserer Symbole fehlen. — Das folgende *Toxcatl*-Fest aber würde in der Nordreihe durch das sechste Bild (f, Abb. 10), d. h. durch das Symbol des Krieges veranschaulicht sein. Auch das kann man verstehen, denn am Toxcatl wurde das Abbild *Tezcatlipoca's* geopfert, der junge Kriegsgefangene, der ein Jahr lang diesen Kriegergott als lebendes Abbild repräsentiert hatte.

Das *ometochtlauiztli*, der Pulquetopf, die Devise des Pulquegottes, das siebente Bild der Nordreihe (g. Abb., 10) müsste dann dem *Etzalqualiztli*, dem « Essen der Bohnenspeise, » dem grossen Feste der Regengötter, dem sechsten der gewöhnlichen Zählung, entsprechen. Das würde mit der Konkordanz, die wir oben für das *atlcaualo* angenommen haben, in genauer Übereinstimmung stehen.

Dann kämen die beiden Feste des jungen Maises, das kleine und grosse « Herrenfest » (*Tecuilhuitontli* und *Ueitecuilhuitl*). Ihnen müssten die beiden letzten Bilder der Nordreihe, (h und i, Abb. 10), das Auge im Wasser und die abgeschnittene Haarlocke, — entsprechen.

Die Südreihe würde mit k und l, Abb. 12, den Festen *Tlaxochimaco* und *Xocotluetzi, bzw. Miccailhuitontli* und *Ueimiccailhuitl*, beginnen. Das zweite der Bilder ist wieder, gleich f, eine Trophäe, die die Waffen des Krieges zur Anschauung bringt. Nur ist hier der Schild als Schild des Pulquegottes gezeichnet. Dass hier wieder dasselbe Symbol wie für das *Toxcatl*-Fest, angegeben ist, wird man verstehen, wenn man sich erinnert, dass der *Xocotl* oder *Otontecutli*, der in diesen beiden Festen gefeiert wurde, die Seele des toten Kriegers darstellt. In der Tat werden ja auch in andern bekannten Darstellungen der Jahresfeste, Z. B. in der des Codex Magliabecchiano XIII, 3, das *Toxcatl*-Fest und das Fest *Tlaxochimaco* beide durch das Bild *Tezcatlipoca*'s des Gottes der jungen Krieger, zur Anschauung gebracht.

Das elfte Jahresfest der gewöhnlichen Zählung, *Ochpaniztli*, das Besenfest, das Fest der alten Göttermutter *Teteoinnan*, der Erd — und Mondgöttin, das ein Erntefest war, würde durch das zwölfte unserer Bilder, das dritte Bild der Südreihe (m, Abb. 12), d. h. durch das Steinbeil (*itztopolli*), die Waffe der Pulquegötter, veranschaulicht sein. Wir wissen, dass die alte Götter-

mutter und die Pulquegötter sehr nahe verwandte Gestalten sind. Beides sind ursprünglich Mondgottheiten und als solche Gottheiten des Wachstums und der Erneuerung, und beiden wurden in der Erntezeit Feste gefeiert. So kann man sich mit dieser Identifikation unseres Bildes m und des *Ochpanıztli* wohl einverstanden erklären.

Weniger deutlich ist ein entsprechender Zusammenhang in den folgenden Bildern. Das dreizehnte Bild (n, Abb. 12), das sakrifizierte Ohr, mit dem beilförmigen Ohrpflock, dem Ohrschmucke des toten Kriegers, müsste dem *Teotl eco*, dem Feste, das die Rückkehr der Götter, die während der Regenzeit abwesend waren, oder die Geburt de[illegible]en Gottes feiert, entsprechen.

Der Fastenring mit dem [illegible]erstrome in seinem Innern, das vierzehnte Bild, das fünfte der Südreihe (p, Abb. 13), müsste dem *Quecholli* dem Feste *Mixcouatl*'s, des Gottes der Chichimeken und der Jagd. entsprechen. Hier müsste man sich vorstellen, dass durch den Schädel (*tzontecomatl*), den das Bild p. Abb. 13, uns vor Augen bringt, die alten Stämme, die Vorfahren, die Leute der chichimekischen Zeit, zur Anschauung gebracht werden sollen.

Das sechszehnte Bild, das siebente der Südreihe (q. Abb. 13), müsste dem fünfzehnten Feste, *Panquetzaliztli*, dem Feste *Uitzilopochtli*'s gleichgesetzt werden und könnte es auch, wenn man annimmt, dass durch das *chalchiuhatl*, das Opferblut, das *Panquetzaliztli*-Fest als das grosse Opferfest bezeichnet werden soll, das es ja in Wirklichkeit auch war.

Der Jaguarfuss des siebzehnten Bildes (r, Abb. 13) müsste das sechszehnte Jahresfest *Atemoztli* „das Herabkommen des Wassers, “ — oder richtiger wahrscheinlich „ womit man Wasser sucht “, „ womit man um Regen bittet, “—bezeichnen. Das ist ein Fest der Regengötter, und als ein Symbol der Regengötter und des Kultus der Regengötter kann der Jaguarfuss in der Tat betrachtet werden. Einen Jaguarfuss sehen wir in den Handschriften der Codex Borgia-Gruppe bei *Tlaloc*, dem Regengotte, dem Herrn des siebenten Tonalamatl-Abschnittes, angegeben. Und an dem grossen Feste der Regengötter, *Etzalqualiztli*, führt der Hauptpriester eine aus einer Jaguarfussfellhaut gefertigte Tasche für Räucherwerk, das *oceloyataztli cuechcho*, als sein besonderes Abzeichen.

Das letzte Bild (s. Abb. 13) müsste das siebzehnte Jahresfest *Tititl* darstellen. Die alte Göttin *Tlamatecutli*, die chichimekische Göttin, war die Herrin dieses Festes und die *Ciuateteo*, die Seelen der im Kindbette gestorbenen Frauen, spielten an ihm eine bedeutsame Rolle. So wenigstens in der Hauptstadt Mexico. Bei den Tlalhuica aber, nach dem Codex Magliabecchiano zu urteilen, muss es gleichzeitig ein Totenerinnerungsfest gewesen sein, wie das ein halb Jahr zuvor gefeierte *Xocotluetzi*. Ein Mumienbündel wurde an diesem Feste für den toten Krieger aufgebaut und mit dem der Seele des toten Kriegers zukommenden Schmucke versehen, - der blauen Krone (*xiuhuitzolli*), den beilförmigen blauen Ohrpflöcken (*xiuhnacochtli*), eigentümlich geformten blauen Pflöcken in den Nasenflügeln (*yacaxiuitl*) und der Figur eines blauen Hundes auf der Brust (*xolocozcatl*). Nun diesen *xolocozcatl*, den auf der Brust, auf der über die Schultern geschlungenen Papierbinde (*amanecapanalli*) getragenen blauen Hund, haben wir offenbar in diesem unsern letzten Bilde s. Abb. 13 vor uns. Und so mag diese Uebereinstimmung uns auch für die andern Fälle eine Stütze sein, wo der Zusammenhang zwischen unsern Bildern und den Festen, die nach der oben von mir aufgestellten Hypothese ihnen entsprechen sollen, nicht ganz so klar zu Tage liegt.

Eine Hauptfrage ist nun noch, ob bei dieser Parallelisierung die Feste des Jahres sich in zwei Hälften teilen, die, wie hier die Bilder unseres Tempels in eine Nord-und eine Südreihe sich gliedern, die eine mit der Himmelsrichtung des Nordens, die andere mit der des Südens in Zusammenhang gebracht werden müssten. Das ist nun in der Tat der Fall, denn die Scheide, die hier in unsern Bildern zwischen dem Ende der Nordreihe und dem Anfange der Südreihe vorliegt, müsste nach meiner Hypothese der Grenze zwischen den beiden Festen *Ueitecuilhuitl* and *Tlaxochimaco* entsprechen. Das ist aber gerade die Zeit, wo die Sonne von ihrer nördlichen Verschiebung (zum Wendekreise des Krebses) zurückkehrend, über Mexico den Zenithstand erreicht, um von da an auf der südlichen Hälfte des Himmels sich zu bewegen. Denn nach dem damals noch giltigen Julianischen Kalender erreichte unter der Breite von Mexico (19, 27 n. Br.) die Sonne am. 13. Juli ihren Zenithstand. Das Ende des *Ueitecuilhuitl* wird aber an der einen

Stelle Sahaguns auf den 11. Juli, an der andern auf den 15. Juli, im Codex Telleriano-Remensis auf den 14. Juli, im Codex Magliabecchiano und im Duran auf den 19. Juli verlegt. Die astronomischen Erwägungen rechtfertigen also in der Tat eine Scheidung der Jahresfeste in der Weise, wie sie der Scheidung der Bilder der Tempelzelle von Tepoztlan in eine nördliche und eine südliche Reihe entspricht.

Ich gehe nun zu den Reliefen über (Abb. 14, 15), die die Vorderseite der bankartigen Vorsprünge an den Wänden der Vorhalle schmücken. Hier sind es die Nord-und Südwand allein, die mit solchen Reliefen versehen sind. Und ihre Orientierung ist eine derartige, dass die Anfangsglieder der beiden Reihen an dem vordern, dem westlichen, Wandende ihre Stelle haben.

Das erste Bild der Nordseite (*a*, Abb. 14) zeigt uns eine aus Papier geschnittene Krone (*amacalli*), hinter der die eine Hälfte der grossen, ebenfalls aus Papier geschnittenen, gefalteten Nackenschleife (*tlaquechpanyotl*) sichbar wird, mit der die Mexikaner die Idole der Berg—, Regen-und Wassergottheiten und auch die Pulquegötter, auszustatten pflegten. Ueber der Krone endlich sind ein Daunenfederball und wallende Federn (Quetzal-oder Reiherfedern) zu erkennen. Das Ganze soll offenbar den Kopfschmuck einer Wassergottheit veranschaulichen.

Das zweite Bild der Nordseite der Vorhalle (*b*, Abb. 14) stellt einen abgeschnittenen menschlichen Daumen dar, der von (Wasser oder) Blut umgeben ist.

Das dritte Bild der Nordseite (*g*, Abb. 14) führt uns wieder eine in Türkismosaik ausgeführte mexikanische Königskrone (*xiuhuitzolli*) vor Augen, die aber hier als Kopfschmuck des *teotl*, des *tonatiuh ilhuicac yaqui*, der Seele des toten Kriegers gedacht ist. Denn über ihr wird, gewissermassen als Haar, ein aus malinalli-Gras geflochtener Streifen sichtbar, wie er genau in gleicher Weise über der Königskrone zu sehen ist, mit der im Codex Magliabecchiano XIII, 3. fol 72 das Mumienbündel des toten Kriegers geschmückt ist, und wie er auch an der Königskrone zu erkennen ist, die auf dem Monumente von



Abb. 14 (1/10 nat. gr.) Nordseite der Vorhalle.



Abb. 15 (1/10 nat. gr.) Südseite der Vorhalle

Huitzuco (1) die Region des Ostens, die der Wohnortder Seelen der toten Krieger ist, bezeichnet. Damit stimmt vollkommen überein, dass wir hier in dem dritten Bilde der Nordwand der Vorhalle (g, Abb. 10) an der Vorderseite des *xiuhuitzolli* noch ein Gebilde gezeichnet sehen, das in seiner Form genau dem *yacaxiuitl*, dem Pflocke, der den Nasenflügeln der Maske des toten Kriegers eingesetzt wurde, entspricht.

Das vierte Bild der Nordwand endlich (*d*, Abb. 14) zeigt wieder das Steinbeil (*itztopolli*), die Waffe der Pulquegötter, — in Form und Ausstattung dem des zweiten Bildes der

(1) Im zweiten Bande meiner „Gesammelten Abhaudlungen zur amerikanischen Sprach-und Altertumskunde" (Berlin 1904) S 753 ff, beschrieben.

Nordreihe der Tempelzelle (b, Abb. 11) durchaus gleich. Nur ist hier in der Vorhalle das Relief ungleich besser erhalten, und so auch z. B. die Steinklinge mit der Zahnreihe, die die Schneide der Klinge veranschaulicht, durchaus deutlich.

An der Südwand der Vorhalle sind nur zwei Bilder noch zu sehen. Das eine (n, Abb. 15) zeigt wieder ein menschliches Ohr (*nacaztli*) mit abgeschnittenem oberm Ende und gelapptem Wundrande, wie wir das in der Südreihe der Tempelzelle in dem Bilde n, Abb. 12 kennen gelernt hatten. In dem Loche des Ohrläppchens steckt aber hier nicht ein beilförmiger Pflock, sondern zwei Bänder ragen aus ihm hervor.

Das zweite Bild der Südwand der Vorhalle (s, Abb. 15) scheint den Bildern i, Abb. 10 and k, Abb. 12 zu entsprechen, von denen ich als Mutmassung aussprach, dass sie vielleicht das abgeschnittene Wirbelhaar des Opfers veranschaulichen sollen.

Wie man sieht, haben wir also auch in diesen Bildern der Vorhalle einerseits solche, die auf den Gott des Tempels, andererseits solche, die auf Krieg und Opfer Bezug haben. Ja es zeigt sich sogar, dass von diesen sechs Bildern der Vorhalle zwei oder drei Bildern der Tempelzelle genau entsprechen. Da kam mir natürlich zunächst der Gedanke, dass diese Bilder der Vorhalle vielleicht dasselbe bedeuten könnten, wie die der Tempelzelle, vielleicht nur eine Abbreviatur der beiden Reihen der letzteren darstellen. Doch vermochte ich ein Gesetz der Entsprechung nicht zu erkennen. Ich neige mich daher mehr der Ansicht zu, dass die Bilder der Vorhalle die vier Himmelsrichtungen und zwar in der Folge Westen, Süden, Osten, Norden, bzw, die Jahre oder die Tonalamatl-Abschnitte, die nach der Anschauung jener Stämme den vier Himmelsrichtungen entsprachen, dem Beschauer vorzuführen bestimmt sind. In der Nordreihe würde demnach der Schmuck der Wassergöttin den Westen, der abgeschnittene Daumen den Süden, die Krone des *tonatiuh iixco yaqui* den Osten und das Steinbeil den Norden bezeichnen. Die dritte Beziehung ist durch das Monument von Huitzuco als richtig erwiesen. Das Steinbeil, d. h. die Pulquegötter, werden, wie der Mond, den sie veranschaulichen, in den Bilderschriften ganz allgemein dem Norden zugewiesen. Der Süden galt den Mexikanern als das *uitztlan*, der Ort der Dornen, der Ort der Kasteiung. Dem mag der abgeschnittene

Daumen wohl entsprechen. Und der Kopfschnuck der Wassergöttin kann gewiss als Symbol des Westens passieren, da wir in den Bilderschriften und den Traditionen den Westen vielfach als Gegend des Wasserüberflusses, der Wachstumsfülle dargestellt finden.

Die Monumente von Huilocintla

IM CANTON TUXPAN, DES STAATES VERA CRUZ

PAR LE Dr EDUARD SELER, Berlin-Steglitz

In dem Völkergemische das uns in dem Gebiete der heutigen Republik Mexico in alter Zeit und noch heute entgegentritt, muss die atlantische Küste eine eigentümliche Rolle gespielt haben. Bedeutende Verschiebungen haben ohne Zweifel stattgefunden. Die *Cuexteca* oder Huaxteken, die zur Maya-Familie gehören, leben jetzt, weit von ihren Stammbrüdern getrennt, am Rio Tuxpan und bis hinauf zum Panuco. Und zwar muss diese Verschiebung zu einer Zeit stattgefunden haben, als den Maya-Völkern der Gebrauch der Hieroglyphen und die ganze kalendarische und astronomische Wissenschaft, in der sie später ausgezeichnet waren, noch unbekannt war. Die *Olmeca Uixtotin*, die in den Berichten als Bewohner des südlichen Teiles der Küste genannt werden, sollen nach einer weit verbreiteten Tradition ursprünglich im Gebiete von Tlaxcala ansässig gewesen sein. Schwärme von Hochlandstämmen hauptsächlich *mexikanischer* Abkunft haben sich zu verschiedenen Zeiten und in verschiedener Richtung über die Küste ergossen und gewissen Teilen ihre Kultur und Sprache aufgedrängt, während in andern Teilen sie selbst von der Masse der autochthonen Bevölkerung aufgesogen wurden. Und in all dem Drängen und Schieben scheinen gewisse Teile der alten Urbevökerung im wesentlichen unverändert und in ungefähr den gleichen Grenzen sich erhalten zu haben.

Die alten *Olmeca Uixtotin* sind als ethnische Besonderheit längst untergegangen. Vielleicht werden sich noch einmal einige Züge ihrer Kultur rekonstruieren lassen, wenn die


Abb. 1. Relief von Tepatlaxco

Küstenstriche südlich von Vera Cruz einmal gründlich beziehentlich ihrer archæologischen Verhältnisse durchforscht sein werden. Die alte Landschaft *Cuetlaxtlan*, d. h. die Gebiete von Orizaba und Cotastla bis nach Alvarado hin, weist ebenfalls heute keine Spur mehr der alten einheimischen Bevölkerung auf. Als Zeugen ihrer Kulturbesonderheit wird das merkwürdige Relief von *Tepatlaxco* gelten können, (Abb. 1) das Leopoldo Batres neuerdings für das Museo Nacional de Mexico erworben hat und das er in einer besondern Shrift, die im vorigen Jahre erschien, beschrieben hat; sowie die ähnliche Stele von Puerto de Alvarado, die ein verdienter Burger dieses Ortes, Herr Juan Esteva, dem Museo Nacional de México schenkte. Dagegen sind die

Totonaque,- der Stamm, der den Scharen des Cortes bei der Erobeung von México den ersten Stützpunkt bot, noch heute nordwärts vom Rio Antigua bis über Papantla hinaus verbreitet, an verschiedenen Stellen bis an den Rand des Hochlandes sich hinaufziehend. Misantla im Süden, Papantla im Norden, Zacapoaxtla oben im Gebirge können als ihre Hauptzentren betrachtet werden. Allerdings erfüllen die Totonaken diese Gebiete nicht in kontinuierlichem Zuge. Im Süden waren sie unzweifelhaft schon in alter Zeit stark mit Bruchteilen mexikanischer Bevölkerung durchsetzt. Dann bildete der Fluss von Nautla einen Streifen mexikanishcher Besiedelung. Und im Norden haben wir in Castillo de Teayo im Kanton Tuxpan eine alte mexikanische Kolonie nachweisen können (1).

Der sprachlichen Eigenart der Totonaken entspricht in den Altertümern dieser Gegenden ein eigenartiger Kunststyl, als dessen hervorragendste Vertreter die Skulpturen des Tajin, der Pyramide von Papantla, ferner die merkwürdigen hufeisenförmigen skulpierten Werkstücke, die unter dem Namen « Steinjoche » bekannt sind, endlich die sogenannten « palmas » bezeichmet werden können, dreieckig prismatische nach oben sich federbuschartig verbreiternde Stücke, die mit einer sehr wechselnden Fülle von Figuren und Ornamenten bedeckt sind, deren Typen zu sammeln und zu analysieren eine höchst lohnende Aufgabe sein würde. — Ich möchte diesen drei Klassen von Altertümern, als mutmasslich derselben alten Kultur angehörig zwei interessante Reliefe anfügen, von denen eines (Abb. 3) schon seit einigen Jahren bekannt ist, da es nach Jalapa gebracht worden ist und seitdem dort in dem Hofe des Colegio Preparatorio aufbewahrt wird. Das andere (Abb. 2), das offenbar ein vollständiges Gegenstück des ersten ist, haben wir, meine Frau und ich, in der Hacienda San Isidro oberhalb Tuxpan angetroffen. Man sagte uns dort, dass beide, dieses Stück und das von Jalapa, aus einem und demselben Orte, aus der halbwegs zwischen der Hacienda San Isidro und Castillo de Teayo gelegenen alten Ruinenstätte von Huilocintla stammen. Die Ruinenstätte selbst haben wir, der ungünstigen Witterungsverhältnisse

(1) Vgl. Vierzehnter Internationaler Amerikanisten kongress, Stuttgart 1904, S. 263 ff.

halber, obwohl wir ziemlich nahe daran vorbeigekommen sind, nicht besuchen können. Aber die Steine haben wir abgeklatscht. Die Abgüsse sind jetzt im Lichthofe des Königl. Museums für Völkerkunde aufgestellt. Nach diesen Abgüssen sind die Zeichnungen angefertigt worden, die hier in Abb. 2 und 3 wiedergegeben sind.

Ein Blick auf diese beiden Bilder zeigt, dass die hier dargestellten Figuren in Haltung, Tracht und Ausstattung, in der Linienführung und im Style der Ornamentation vollständige Repliken sind. Dieselbe Persönlichkeit in derselben Aktion, vielleicht sogar von demselben Künstler entworfen und ausgeführt, ist es, die uns in diesen beiden Bildern entgegentritt.

Was zunächst den Namen angeht, den wir den hier dargestellten Figuren zu geben haben, so ist dieser in beiden Bildern im gleicher Weise angegeben. Nur hat er in der Abb. 2 vor dem Gesichte, in Abb. 2 zwischen den Beinen der Figur seinen Platz gefunden. Es ist *ce ocelotl* « eins Jaguar, » der Anfangstag des in fünfgliedrige Säulen geordneten Tonalamatls und zugleich der Anfangstag des zweiten der dreizehntagigen Tomalamatl – Abschnitte. Als Herr des zweiten den Norden bezeichnenden Tonalamatl-Viertels wird in den Bilderschriften der Gott *Tezcatlipoca* gezeichnet. Einen andern Gott des Nordens, *Mixcouatl*, den Gott der Chichimeken und der Jagd, der vielleicht ursprünglich ein Sterngott ist, fanden wir in dem Huilocintla benachbarten, von aztekischen Kolonisten gegründeten alten Orte Castillo de Teayo in mehreren Steinbildern dargestellt, und dort fannen wir auch dasselbe Datum *ce ocelotl* « eins Jaguar » durch zwei interessante Skulpturstcke veranschaulicht (1). Eine andere Gottheit ist mit dem Datum *ce ocelotl* « eins Jaguar », wo es als Anfangstag des zweiten der nreizehntägigen Tonalomatl-Abschnitte erscheint, verbunden. Es ist *Ouetzalcouatl*, der Herr des Lebens, der Windgott, der aber eigentlich der abnehmende, nach Osten wandernde und dort in den Strahlen der Sonne verschwiudente, aber nachher wieder auflebende, als schmale Sichel am Abendhimmel erscheinende

(1) Vgl. meine Abhandlung über « die alte Ansiedlung von Castillo de Teayo » in den Verhandlungen des 14. Internationalen Amerikanistenkongresses. Stuttgart 1904, S. 264-277 Abb. 16, 17, 31.



Abb. 2 — Relief von Huilocintla (Original z. Z. in der Hacienda San Isidro, Canton Tuxpan)

Monn ist. Zwischen diesen drei Personen, *Tezcatlipoca*, *Mixconatl*, *Ouetzalconatl* haben wir also zu wählen. Sehen wir zu, was die Bilder selber ans sagen.

Beide Figuren, die der Abbildung 2 und die der Abbildung 3, sind an Armen und Beinen tatuiert. Die Muster sind sehr eigenartige und ich getraue mich nicht ohne weiteres, sie aufzulösen. Wir wissen aber in der Tat aus dem ethnographischen Kapitel Sahaguns, dass die Cuexteca und die Totonaque sich tatuierten. Und in dem ersten Bilde des Lienzo de Tlaxcala ist der nur mit einer Schambinde bekleidete totonakische Indianer, der den Fürsten von Tlaxcala den Brief des Cortes überbringt, deutlich tatuiert gezeichnet.

Beide Figuren sind mit der Schambinde (*maxtlatl*) der Münner und mit Sandalen (*cactli*) bekleidet und scheinen ausserdem ein ärmelloses Wams (*xicolli*) anzuhaben, wie es die Priester der Mexikaner trugen. In dem Ohrläppchen steckt ein runder Pflock, aus dessen Höhlung in Abb. 2 eine Schlange heraushängt. Es ist also ein sogenannter *couanacochtli*, ein » Schlangenohrpflocck « wie er im 12. Buche Sahaguns bei der Tracht *Quetzalcouatl*'s, die König Motecuhçoma dem Cortes als Gast-und Bewillkommnungsgeschenk entgegenschickt, beschrieben wird. Auf der Brust hängt, an einer um den Hals gehenden Schnur befestigt, das *ecailacatzcozcatl*, das » spiral gedrehte Windgeschmeide, » der aus dem Querschliff eines grossen Meerschneckengehäuses bestehende Brustschmuck des Gottes *Quetzalcouatl*. Merkwürdig kompliziert ist der Kopfchmuck, der augenscheinlich ein doppelter ist. Uber dem Gesichte der Figur ist zunächst ein Reptilrachen sichtbar, der allerdings nur in Abb. 3 in allen Einzelheiten,— mit Zahnreihe, gekrümmtem Eckzahne, Auge und Nüstern,-deutlich ist. Darüber folgt ein zweiter Tierrachen, der auch mit langer Zahnreihe und gekrümmtem Eckzahne versehen ist, aber über dem Schnauzenende eine besonders abgesetzte Nase hat, die in Abb. 2 frappant an die rüsselförmige Nase des Windgottes *Quetzalcouatl* erinnert. In Abb. 3 ist ausserdem ein menschlich gebildetes Ohr sichtbar und in beiden Abbildungen ein runder Ohrpflock, aus dem ein nach oben gebogenes Gehänge heraushängt, das in dieser Krmümung wiederum an *Quetzalconatl*, an dessen » aus Muschelschale geschliffenes » (*epcololli*) » dornig



Abb. 3 Relief von Huilocintla (Original 3. Z. im Hofe des Colegio Preparatorio in Jalapa).

gekrümmtes » (*tzicoliuhqui*) Ohrgehänge erinnert. Dazu kommt in Abb. 2 ein grosses rundes Auge, in Abb. 3 aber ein aus seiner Höhle getriebenes Auge, das genau dem Auge gleicht, mit dem in den mexikanischen Bilderschriften *Quetzalconatl* gezeichnet zu werden pflegt und das bei diesem Gotte bedeutet, dass er der Fromme, der sich Kasteiende, der Erfinder der Bussübungen und Kasteiungen ist. Nach all dem scheint mir nicht bezweifelt werden zu können, dass der in diesen beiden Bildern dargestellte Gott *ce ocelotl* « eins Jaguar » den Herrn des zweiten dreizehntägigen Tonalamatl Abschnittes, d. h. *Quetzalconatl*, ihn selbst oder eine Inkarnation von ihm, vorstellen müsse. Wir sind übrigens mit der Beschreibung des Kopfputzes dieser beiden Figuren noch nicht zu Ende. Ueber der *Quetzalconatl*-Maske liegt noch ein nach vorn geneigtes und dort in einer Spitze endendes Gebilde, das auf der Ober-und Hinterseite von sich kräuselnden Elementen (Haarschopf? Federschopft?) umsäumt ist und in dem in Abb. 2 ein Paar (durch eine Schleife verbundene?) Stäbe stecken. Von der *Quetzalconatl*-Maske scheint in Abb. 3 ein langer Haarzopf herabzuhängen, der von einer Schlange, die hier als Haarband verwendet worden ist, unwunden ist.

Beide Figuren haben die Zunge herausgestreckt und martern sich (*monenepiltequi, cacaquixtia*,) indem sie durch ein Loch, das sie sich in die Zunge geschnitten haben, einen am untern Ende mit langen Dornen besetzten Stab ziehen. Die beiden Schlangen, die man in der Figur Abb. 2 sich um Unter-und Oberschenkel winden sieht, haben wohl dieselbe Bedeutung, wie die rote, nach Art einer Korallenotter gezeichnete Schlange, die man in den Handschriften der Codex Borgia-Gruppe und im Codex Borbonicus bei dem sich kasteienden, sich marternden Sünder angegeben sieht. Das Blut, das bei dieser Prozedur vergossen wird, wird in Abb. 2 von einer mit einem *malinalli*-Grasröckchen bekleideten Skelettfigur, die hungrig den zahnstarrenden Rachen öffnet, in Empfang genommen. In Abb. 3 aber von einer mit Armen versehenen und, nach Art der Feuerschlange (*xiuhconatl*) durch ein zurückgebogenes Schnauzenende ausgezeichneten Schlange, deren Leib, gerade unter den Drachenarmen, mitten durchgerissen ist.

Mit der Skelettfigur, die in Abb. 2 den Mund zum Schlu-

cken des Blutes öffnet und mit der Schlange, die in Abb. 3 die Zunge nach dem herausfliessenden Blute ausstreckt, ist ein den Kopf überragendes und nach vorn sich verlängerndes Gebilde verbunden, das in Abb. 2 ebenfalls mit einer Art Schlangenkopf endet und auf dem Rücken in beiden Abbildungen mit sich einrollenden zinnenartigen Figuren, zwischen denen Schlangenköpfe, Hirschköpfe, Menschengesichter sichtbar werden, besetzt ist Wir werden dies Gebilde vielleicht als den *Mixcoatl*, die Wolkenschlange, deuten können.

Vor der Hauptfigur endlich ist in Abb. 2 noch eine kleine Menschenfigur zu sehen, deren Gesicht aus einem Schlangenrachen hervorsieht, die das *oyoualli*, das rasselnde aus Schneckengehäusen geschliffene Gehänge, den Brustschmuck der Tanzgötter, und in der Hand die Waffen des Krieges, Schild, Speerbündel und Handfahne, trägt. Diese Figur dürfte den Herold (*tecpoyotl*) oder den Stellvertreter (*patillotl*) des Gottes *ce ocelotl*, der Hauptfigur, oder seinen jüngern Bruder vorstellen,—Gestalten, die in der mexikanischen Mythologie bei verschiedenen der grossen Götter namhaft gemacht werden.

EINIGE FEIN BEMALTE ALTE THONGEFAESSE

Der Dr Sologuren' schen Sammlung aus Nochistlan und Cuicatlan

IM STAATE OAXACA

PAR LE Dr EDUARD SELER, Berlin-Steglitz

Die mit Recht im Lande und weit darüber hinaus berühmte Sammlung zapotekischer Altertümer des *Dr. Fernando Sologuren* in Oaxaca enthält unter anderm auch eine Anzahl fein bemalter und geglätteter Thongefässe, die in ihrer Technik und in der ganzen Art und Form an die Erzeugnisse der keramischen Kunst des alten Cholula erinnern, vielleicht auch geradezu von dort importiert worden sind und die durch ihre eigenartige und kunstvolle Verzierung auffallen.

Von ganz hervorragendem Interesse ist ein Gefäss, das im Pueblo viejo von *Nochistlan* in der Mixteca alta gefunden worden ist, das ich,-nach einer farbigen Zeichnung, die ich seiner Zeit in Oaxaca mit gütiger Erlaubnis des Besitzers anfertigen konnte, — hier in Abb. 1 wiedergebe. Es ist, wie die Abbildung zeigt, ein bauchiges Gefäss, mit nach oben sich etwas erweiterndem Halse und drei einfach spitz ausgezogenen Füssen. Die Höhe des Gefässes mit den Füssen beträgt 18cm, ohne die Füsse 14cm ; der Durchmesser der Wölbung ist 14cm, die Mündung hat einen Durchmesser von 9½cm, die Füsse sind 6cm lang. Das Gefäss ist auf der ganzen Aussenseite farbig bemalt und fein geglättet. Die Füsse haben eine Verzierung in Rot auf weissem Grunde. Die Wölbung des Gefässes ist mit Figuren nach Art derer der Handschriften der Codex Borgia-Gruppe und anderer mexikanischer Bilderschriften bemalt, deren leuchtende Farben sich in äusserst wirkungsvoller Weise von einem schönem dunklem, fast schwarzem Grunde abheben. Als

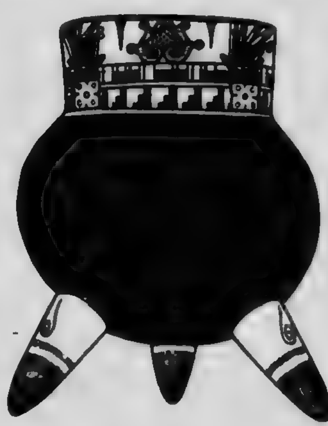


Abb. 1a Bunt bemaltes Thongefass von Nochistlan, Samm Sologuren. (Die zeichnung auf der wölbung ist hier durch schwarz ersetzt).

Farben sind Weiss, Gelb, Rot, Rosa, ein mattes Schiefergrau, das augenscheinlich als Blau gemeint ist, und ein Purpurton, der ein Grau oder Schwarz vertritt, verwendet. Die farbigen Felder sind, wie in den Figuren der Bilderschriften, durch schwarze Umrisslinien begrenzt; und rote Punkte, Striche und Linien bringen innerhalb der Farbenfelder besondere Details der Zeichnung zum Ausdruck. Dieselben Farben sind auch auf dem geraden Halsteile des Cefässes verwendet. Doch kommt hier der dunkle Grund nur in schmalen Zwickeln zur Erscheinung.

Auf den Füssen findet sich auf der Vorderseite eine spiral sich einrollende rote Linie als Verzierung. Auf dem Halsteile des Gefässes sieht man unten zunächst ein rundum laufendes Band roter Stufendreiecke oder Zinnen auf weissem Grunde. Darüber ein zweites Band verschiedenfarbiger senkrechter Streifen. Und endlich sechs, oben blattartig abgerundete gelbe Felder, swischen denen der dunkle Grund in schmalen Zwickeln zur Erscheinung kommt, und auf denen abwechselnd eine von der Hieroglyphe Wasser (*atl*) gebildete blattartige Figur und eine rote Hand, die aber aus einer Art Kelch emporwächst und ein staubfadenartiges Gebilde umschliesst also vielleicht eine « flor de manito » darstellen soll, angegeben sind.

Auf der Wölbung des Gefässes sind zwei Götterfiguren gezeichnet, deren eine (A) *Quetzalconatl*, den Windgott, den Schöpfer des Lebens, den Menschenschöpfer, deren andere (C) *Tonacatecutli*, den « Herrn unsers Fleisches, » den Gott der Zeugung und der Lebensmittel (*tonacayotl*), darstellt. Thuen gegenüber sieht man je ein Symbol (B und D), das zu der Natur dieser beiden Gottheiten in Beziehung steht.

Beide Götter, *Quetzalconatl* und *Tonacatecutli*, sind in Jaguar (*ocelotl*) — Helmmaske abg bildet. Die Zeichnung des



Abb. 16. Bunte zeichnung auf einem Thongefässe von Nochistlan (Samml. Sologuren).

Jaguarfells ist etwas verschieden. Bei *Tonacatecutli* (C) sind die Flecken nur durch kleine schwarze Kreise angegeben; bei *Quetzalconatl* (A) aber durch Gruppen von drei schwarzen Flecken. Diese zweite Zeichnung kommt der wirklichen Zeichnung des Jaguarfells näher, die ja bekanntlich aus in kleinen Kreisen stehenden Flecken besteht, die in der Regel noch einen andern den Kern bildenden Fleck umschliessen. Beide Götter sind ausserdem mit dem grossen, das Kinn umrahmenden Barte abgebildet, der in den Bilderschriften, wenigstens der Codex Borgia-Gruppe, bei *Tonacatecutli* ausnahmslos, und in der Regel auch bei *Quetzalconatl* und in gleicher Weise bei dem Mondgotte, angegeben wird. Denn all diese drei Götter sind Götter der alten Zeit, der Zeit der Nacht und des Dunkels, vor der Geburt der Sonne, und alle drei sind zweifellos ihrem Wesen nach auf das innigste verwandt. Die Jaguarhelmmaske, in der diese Götter hier, und auch sonst häufig genug erscheinen, hängt zweifellos ebenfalls mit dieser Natur der beiden Gottheiten zusammen. Denn der Jaguar war den Mexikanern das Tier, das die Sonne verschlingt (zur Zeit der Sonnenfinsternis), und darum das Abbild der Nacht, des Dunkels, der Erde.

Quetzalconatl (A) ist hier auf unserm Gefässe Abb. 1 in

bekannter Weise mit rüsselartig verlængerter, gerade abgeschnittener Nase und schnabelartigen Mundteilen dargestellt. Er trägt seinen am unterm Rande mit weissen Schneckengehæusen besetzten, aus Jaguarfell gefertigten Halskragen und an einer in eine Quaste oder Blüte endenden Schnur das *ecailacatzcozcatl*, das aus einem Schneckengehäuse geschliffene » spiral gedrehte Windgeschmeide. « Auch der Haarschopf ist am untern Ende mit rasselnden Schneckengehäusen dunkler Farbe besetzt. In dem durchbohrten Ohläppchen steckt, das Ohr ganz bedeckend, ein blauer, (mit Türkismosaik inkrustierter) rörenfürmig durchbohrter Pflock (*xiuhcoyolnacochtli*). Am Nacken ist eine Rosette (*cuexcochtechimalli*) befestigt, der zwei Spitzen (Schneckengehäuse) aufgesetzt sind. Und darüber ragt ein Federschmuck, dem ein Steinmesser (*tecpatl*) eingefügt ist, in die Höhe und fällt weit nach hinten. Der Gott sitzt auf einem Stuhle, dessen in Stufen (oder zinnenartig) ausgeschnittene Lehne in zwei Farben (rot und blau) gemalt und mit einem Mattenmuster verziert ist und in der Art der *teqicpalli* (Götterstühle) der Bilderschriften mit einem gelbem (metallnem, goldnem) Rande eingefasst ist, dessen » Gold «—(*teocuitlatl*)—Natur noch durch eine feuerwolkenartige Figur an der Hinterseite der Stullehne besonders hervorgehoben ist. Ein Schlangenkopf, dessen Rachenöffnung dem Boden zugekehrt ist, bildet das Basalstück des Stuhles. Der Leib der Schlange ist in abwechselnden Feldern blau, rot und gelb gamalt. Am Schnauzenenderagen zwei Blumen oder Edelsteinriemen hervor, wie das in den Schlangenbildern der Bilderschriften ebenfalls häufig zu sehen ist Der Gott selbst hat den rechten Arm zum Körper zurückgebogen,—eine Unterwürfigkeits — oder Begrüssungshaltung, die wir genau in dieser Weise in einem aus Yucatan stammenden Berichte des Geschichtswerkes » Conquista de el Itza « des Kapitäns Villagutierre y Sotomayor beschrieben finden, — und reicht mit der linken Hand einen menschlichen Kopf dar, dessen Scheitel von einer Blume gekrönt ist.

Tonacatecutli (C) ist, wie immer in den Bilderschriften, als alter Mann, mit eingekniffenem Mundwinkel, gezeichnet. Er trägt im Ohrläppchen einen beilförmigen Pflock weisser Farbe und am Nacken eine Rosette, aus der zwei Feuerflammen herausragen, sodass das Ganze dem rauchenden Spiegel Tezcat-

lipoca's auf das Täuschendste ähnlich sieht. Über der Rosette ragt ein nach hinten überfallender, dem *Quetzalcoatl*'s ähnlicher Federschmuck in die Höhe. Dieser alte Gott ist als Priester aufgefasst und trägt deshalb die Tabakkalebasse (*yetecomatl*) auf dem Rücken. Denn die mexikanischen Priester pflegten, gleich den Priestern und Schamanen anderer mexikanischer Stämme, durch den Genuss von Tabak in ekstatische Zustände sich zu versetzen. In gleicher Weise sehen wir im Codex Borgia den mit Reiherfederhaar und Reiherfederbart gezeichneten alten Gott (*Iztac Mixcoatl*) und in der Wiener Handschrift den verwandten, mit dem Namen *ome itzcuintli* »zwei Hund« bezeichneten alten Gott und die alten Priester des Codex Nuttall mit der Tabakkalebasse dargestellt. Die obere öffnung der Tabakkalebasse, mit dem daraus hervorragenden Edelstein — (*chalchiuitl*) — Riemen, ist hier in unserm Vasenbilde en face gezeichnet, und breite, abwechselnd rot und gelb gemalte Quasten hängen von ihr herunter. Diese Tabakkalebasse der Priester ist geradezu Symbol des Gottes der Lebensmittel. Man sieht sie daher, z. B. Blatt 51 des Codex Borgia, in dem Tempel des Westens dem Maisgotte gegenüber abgebildet. *Tonacatecutli* sitzt hier, in unserm Vasenbilde, auf einem Jaguarfellsitze (*oceloicpalli*) und hält einen Kopalknorren, aus dem Rauch emporsteigt, in der linken Hand. Weihrauch und Kopal wird, wie die Tabakkalebasse, symbolisch zur Bezeichnung von Lebensmittelfülle verwendet.

Diesen beiden Göttern sind nun auf unserm Gefässe Abb. 1 zwei grosse Figuren symbolischer Bedeutung gegenübergestellt, die in ergänzender Weise die Natur dieser beiden Gestalten zur Anschauung bingen.

Quetzalcoatl gegenüber sehen wir in B einen Tempel abgebildet, dessen Stufenunterbau mit einer blauen (Türkismosaik)-Platte und einem schwarzen zwei weisse Schneckengehäuse einschliessenden Felde verziert ist. Er ruht auf dem Leibe einer in abwechselnden Feldern blau, rot und gelb gemalten Schlange, deren weit aufklappender zahnbewehrter Rachen an der Hinterseite des Stufenunterbaus sich öffnet. Wände, Pfösten und Oberschwelle der Cella sind ebenfalls in den drei Farben (blau, gelb und rot) gemalt. Desgleichen die stufenförmigen Zinnen, die den die Hauswand abschliessenden Sims krönen.

Ueber den Zinnen ragt ein breites Strohdach empor, dessen Firstenden sich in besonderen Spitzen erheben. An dem einem, dem vordern, Ende ist die Spitze des Daches von einer grossen Figur des *ecailacatzcocatl*, des weissen, aus dem Querschliffe eines Meerschneckengehäuses bestehenden Brustschmuckes des Windgottes, gekrönt. Das andere, das hintere, Ende trägt einen besondern kleinen, mit Zinnen geschmückten Dachfries. In dem Sattel zwischen den beiden Firstenden ist ein Loch markiert. Durch disses windet sich eine blaue Schlange, deren Schwanzende nach Art des *xiuhcoatl*, der blauen Schlange des Feuergottes, in ein von einem Strahle durchzogenes Trapez ausgeht, deren Kopf aber als *Xolotl* gebildet ist, d. h. als der hundsköpfige Dämon, der eigentlich das vom Himmel fallende Feuer, den Blitz, repräsentiert und der den Hund darstellt, der die Sonne zu den Toten geleitet (1), von den Interpreten als Gott der Zwillinge und der Misgeburten erklärt, weil er sich in den misgeschaffenen Gott, den mit Bubonen behafteten *Nanauatzin* wandelt, der ins Feuer springt und sich opfert, um darnach als Sonne am Osthimmel emporzusteigen. Als *Xolotl* kennzeichnet sich der Kopf dieser Schlange des Tempels B vor allem durch das einen zackigen Wundrand aufweisende abgeschnittene Hundeohr, sodann durch die beiden in der Breite des Auges das Gesicht durchziehenden schwarzen Längsstreifen und durch das dornig gekrümmte (*tzicoliuhqui*) Ohrgehänge, das unter dem blauen scheibenförmigen Ohrpflocke herabhängt.—Die Teilung des Daches in zwei Spitzen, die geradezu das Wort *quaxolotl* « an der Spitze sich gabelnd », den Namen der (sonst auch *Chantico* « im Hause » und *Chicunaui itzcuintli* « neun Hund » genannten) Feuergöttin an die Hand giebt, und ebenso die *Xolotl*-köpfige blaue Schlange, die das Dach durchzieht, kennzeichnen diesen, *Quetzalcouatl* gegenüber auf unserm Gefässe abgebildeten Tempel B als den Tempel des Feuergottes, oder als das *Tlatlayan*, den « Ort des Verbrennens », d. h. das Land des Sonnenaufgangs, den Osten, wohin *Quetzalcouatl*, (der Mond-

(1) Vgl. über diesen Dämon meine Abhandlung « das Grünsteinidol des Stuttgarter Museums ». Verhandlungen des 14. internationalen Amerikanistenkongresses. Stuttgart 1904 S. 241 ff; und meine Erläuterung des Codex Borgia, Band 1 (Berlin 1904) S. 190-200; und Band 2 (Berlin 1906) S. 265-272.

gott), zieht, um dort zu sterben, sich zu verbrennen, von wo aber, wie bestimmt erwartet wurde, er einmal wiederkommen werde, sein Reich wieder aufzurichten.

Tonacatecutli gegenüber sieht man auf unserm Gefässe Abb. 1 die Figur D, - einen Berg, der an seinem Fusse in einer Art Ungeheuerrachen sich öffnet. Das ist die übliche Art, in der die Mexikaner eine Berghöhle (*oztotl*) zum Ausdrucke brachten. Und da die Mexikaner die Vorstellung hatten, dass die Berge grosse Wasserbehälter seien (1), so musste der Rachen des Berges Wasser speien. Jede Höhle (*oztotl*) war ihnen eine Wasserhöhle (*aoztotl*). Das typische Bild des Berges, das wir aus zahlreichen Stadthieroglyphen kennen, hat seinen sonderbaren Umriss dadurch bekommen, dass am Fusse des Berges immer ein Rachen, d. h. eine Höhle, gedacht ist. Und darum sieht man unter diesen Bergen der Hieroglyphen häufig einen Wasserstrom angegeben. Hier in unserm Berge D ist die Höhle deutlicher, als in den gewöhnlichen Berghieroglyphen gezeichnet; es ist eben nicht das Bild des Berges (*tepetl*), sondern das der Höhle (*oztotl*), das uns vorgeführt werden soll. Aber entsprechend der oben erwähnten Vorstellung ist der Rachen der Höhle mit Wasser gefüllt, das in zwei Farben, rosa und blau, gemalt, mit Wellenlinien erfüllt und unten (an der Vorderseite des aus der Höhle sich ergiessenden Stroms), mit einer Schaumkante versehen ist. Zu grösserer Deutlichkeit hat der Künstler im Wasser noch einen schwimmenden Fisch angebracht. Der Berg selbst, dessen Oeffnung die Höhle bildet, ist in den drei Farben, blau, gelb und rot gemalt. Aber seine Spitze ist gespalten. Und so ist auch das Gebilde, das der Schnauzenspitze des (die Höhle bildenden) Ungeheuerrachens aufgesetzt ist, in zwei Hälften geteilt, von denen die eine blau, die andere gelb gemalt ist und die beide in ein Steinmesser, — die blaue Hälfte in ein gelbes, die gelbe in ein blaues, — enden. Jede der beiden Berghälften ist am obern spitzen Ende spiral eingerollt. Das ist die bekannte Form der Hieroglyphe *Coliuhqui tepetl* oder *Colhuacan*, des Namens der mythischen Urheimat, aus der die Stämme auszogen, um nach langen

(1) Vgl. Sahagun, Buch II, cap. 12, §. 1.

Wanderungen in ihre nachmalige Heimat zu gelangen. Dass dieses *Colhuacan* den Westen bezeichnet oder im Westen gedacht wurde, kann jetzt als festgestellt gelten. Das Monument von Huitzuco, das ich in meiner Abhandlung über altmexikanische Steinkisten (tepetlacalli) beschrieben habe, (¹) ist ein klarer Beweis dafür. Aber dass auch schon die Höhle allein ein natürlicher Ausdruck des Westens war, von jenen Stämmen gewissermassen selbstverständlich mit der Himmelsrichtung des Westens in Verbindung gebracht wurde, ist sicher. Denn der Westen ist ja die Region der untergehenden Sonne, d. h. die Gegend, wo die Sonne (*teotl*) in das Loch hineingeht (*aqui*). So finden wir denn auch, z. B. in der yukatekischen Tradition, den Westen als das *holtun zuiva*, die « Höhle zuiva » bezeichnet. Sehr merkwürdig ist aber, dass dieses *Colhuacan*, das Bild des mythischen Westens, hier auf unserm Gefasse Abb. 1 als Gemination, als Doppelgebilde, gezeichnet ist. Das ist eine interessante Parallele zu Darstellungen, die uns auf einigen der Blätter des Codex Borgia begegnen. Dort ist die erste der Regionen, die den Abendhimmel zur Anschauung bringen, an der der als Morgenstern gestorbene Planet Venus nach seiner Unterweltfahrt wiedererscheint, nicht durch ein einzelnes Blatt, sondern durch eine zwei Blätter füllende Doppeldarstellung zum Ausdrucke gebracht, — das Haus der schwarzen Schlange und der männlichen Toten und das Haus der roten Schlange und der weiblichen Toten, — zwei Bilder, die, (wie ich in meiner Erläuterung des Codex Borgia auseinander gesetzt habe), den Nordpfeiler und der Südpfeiler der Westregion bezeichnen, oder das Thor, durch das die Sonne hindurch muss, wenn sie am Abend in der Erde oder im Meere des Westens versinkt. Dieser Vorstellung entsprechend sehen wir denn auch hier auf unserm Nochistlan-Gefässe die eine der beiden Hälften der Colhuacan-Figur durch ein Steinmesser (*tecpatl*), eine gelbe Scheibe und Feuer und Rauch an der Spitze als Nordregion, die andere durch das verschiedenfarbige Feld (*tlapapalli*) und das Bild einer Blume (*xochitl*) als Sitz der Götter der Lust, *Macuil xochitl*'s und seiner Genossen, d. h. als Südregion, bezeichnet.

---

(1) Vgl. Seler « Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur amerikanischen Sprach und Altertumskunde », Band II, (Berlin 1904) S. 754-760.

Wir haben demnach in den vier Bildern, die auf der Wölbung des Gefässes Abb. 1 in bunten Farben ausgeführt sind, die beiden Götter des Lebens dargestellt: *Quetzalcouatl*, den Gott, der nach Osten wandert, um dort zu sterben, dessen Rückkehr aber mit Bestimmtheit erwartet wird und *Tonacatecutli*, den im Maishause, im *Tamoanchan*, dem Hause des Herabkommens, der Geburt, d. h. im Westen, heimischen Gott der Lebensmittel und der Generation. Dem ersteren gegenüber ist der Osten, die Region des Sonnenaufgangs, als das *Tlallayan*, der « Ort des Brennens » durch den Tempel der *Xolotl*-köpfigen Feuerschlange zur Anschauung gebracht. Dem letzteren gegenüber der Westen durch die Höhle *Colhuacan*, deren Gipfel, aber halbiert ist und in eine Nord und eine Südhalfte zerfällt, d. h. in die beiden Pfeiler, die dort im Westen den Eingang in die Erde einfassen. Das Gefäss kann demnach in Wahrheit als ein Stück Bilderschrift betrachtet werden, das nicht nur aus andern Queellen bekannte Vorstellungen wiederholt, sondern unsere Kenntnisse über die mythologischen Ideen jener Stämme auch nach gewissen Richtungen hin erweitert.

Ein zweites Gefäss der Sologuren' schen Sammlung, das auch aus Nochistlan stammt, möchte ich hier ebenfalls zu allgemeinerer Kenntnis bringen, da die auf ihm dargestellten Figuren von besonderem Interesse sind, obwohl ich diese hier nicht mit gleicher Sicherheit zu deuten im Stande bin. Das Gefäss, um das es sich handelt, ist ein kleiner Henkelkrug von 16½ cm Höhe, mit einer breiten Schnippe an der Vorderseite der Mündung. Die allgemeine Farbe des Gefässes ist ein tiefes Eisenoxydrot, aber auf einem breiten, die Wölbung umziehender Bande sind in bunten Farben die Figuren angebracht, die ich hier in Abb. 2 wiedergebe. Die farbigen Bilder heben sich auch hier von einem glänzenden schwarzen Grunde ab. Die verwendeten Farben sind etwas andere als auf dem gefässe Abb. 1. Man erkennt ein Weiss, Gelb, Braun, Rot und ein ins Schiefergraue spielendes Blau. Konturen und Details der Zeichnung sind auch hier, wie bei den Figuren der Bilderschriften mit schwarzen (oder roten) Linien angeben. Es sind, wie man sieht, vier Köpfe, die hier in horizontaler Stellung auf dem die Wölbung um ziehenden Bande angegeben sind. Wir können von vornherein annehmen, dass es Gottheiten der vier Richt-

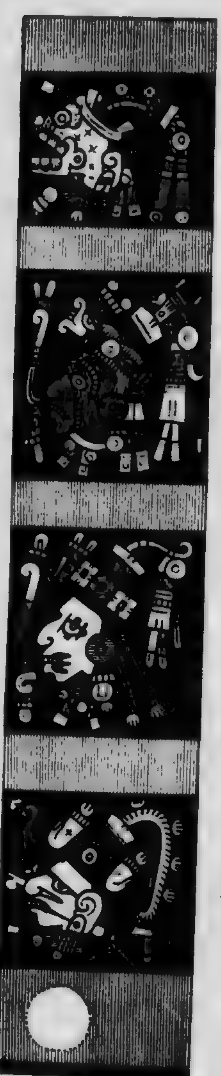


Abb. 2 —Zeichnung auf der Wölbung eines buntbemalten Thongefässes aus Nochistlan (Sologuren sich Sammlung).

ungen sein werden. Ihre Bestimmung aber ist schwierig, da die Besonderheiten ihrer Bemalung und Ausstattung nicht ohne Weiteres eine Parallelisierung mit den bekannten Typen der Bilderschriften gestatten.

Die oberste Figur D. zeigt uns den Skelettkopf des Todesgottes in der bekannten Ausstattung, mit dem Steinmesser vor der Nase, dem Ohrpflocke aus ungesponnener Baumwolle und der nach hinten gebogenen Fahne (*pantoyaualli*). Als Besonderheit wäre nur zu erwähnen, dass auf der Fläche des Gesichts die Natur des Gottes noch durch eine Anzahl Kreuze zum Ausdrucke gebracht ist. Diese Kreuze sind offenbar aus der bekannten Figur der gekreuzten Totenbeine entstanden, die man, zusammen mit Schädeln, auf Kleidern und Ausstattungsstücken von Todesgottheiten und todbringenden Gewalten angebracht sieht.

Die drei andern Köpfe haben sämmtlich das Haar in zwei Scheitelwülsten geordnet und tragen darüber eine nach oben sich verbreiternde Tiara, die dem *xiuhtotocalli*, der mit Türkisvogelfedern beklebten Tiara des Feuergottes, entspricht. — Figur (C) hat ein rotes Gesicht und ein rundes Totenauge und zwei den hintern Augenwinkel und den Mundwinkel umzeihende weisse gefelderte Streifen. Das Haar ist gelb und von einer Lederbinde mit einem stylisierten Vogelkopfen der Stirnseite umwunden. In der Tiara steckt eine grosse Adlerfeder und ein Federbusch, der weit nach hinten hinabfällt. Es

ist mir nicht unwahrscheinlich, dass dieses Bild den Sonnengott zur Anschauung bringen soll.

Die unterste Figur, A, hat ein braunes Gesicht und je einen schwarzen Querstreifen in der Höhe des Auges und des Mundes. Das ist eine Bemalung, die in gewisser Weise der des Feuergottes entspricht. Das Haar ist blau (d. h. dunkel) und ist von einem Lederriemen umwunden, an dem an den beiden Seiten je eine menschliche Hand befestigt ist. Aus der Tiara hängt ein haarig gesäumter Streifen heraus, der in den Handschriften der Codex Borgia Gruppe und auch in der Wiener Handschrift ein besonderes Kennzeichen des Sonnengottes ist. In der Nasenscheidewand steckt als Stab ein spitzer Knochen. Aus dem durchbohrten Ohrläppchen hängt ein Streifen ungesponnener Baumwolle heraus.

. Die Figur B hat ebenfalls ein braunes Gesicht und eine eigentümliche Bemalung in schwarzer Farbe um den Mundwinkel, die an die des Maisgottes Blatt 51 des Codex Borgia und einer entsprechenden Stelle des Codex Bologna erinnert. Das Haar ist auch dunkel und von einer Kette aus Türkisscheiben und Goldplatten umwumden, die an der Stirnseite ein besonderes, in seinem Hauptteile türkisfarbenes Gebilde zeigt, das aus der Türkisvogelfigur, die der Feuergott an der Stirnssite seiner Kopfbinde trägt, entstanden zu sein scheint. Aus der Tiara hängt ein Federschmuck gewöhnlicher Beschaffenheit heraus.

Ohne mich in nähre Bestimmungen einzulassen, möchte ich die Vermutung aussprechen, dass die vier Köpfe A. B. C. D den Himmelsrichtungen in der Folge Westen, Süden, Osten, Norden entsprechen.

Abb. 3a Bunt bemaltes Thongefäss aus Cuicatlan (Staat Oaxaca). Sologuren'sche Sammlung.

Neben den feinbemalten Thongefässen aus Nochistlan enthält die Sologuren'che Sammlung auch eine Anzahl bunt bemalter Schalen und Gefässe, die in der Gegend von *Cuicatlan*, d. h. an der östlichen Seite der Canada, gefunden worden sind, durch die der Weg von Tehuacan nach Oaxaca führt. Diese stellen durchgängig einen andern und augenscheinlich gröbern Typus dar. Neben Gefässen, die nur ein meist in grossen For men ausgeführtes à

la grecque Muster zeigen, trifft man Z. B. auch solche, die am Halse mit Adlerköpfen und auf der Fläche mit Figuren des Sonnengottes in Adlerhelmmaske bemalt sind.

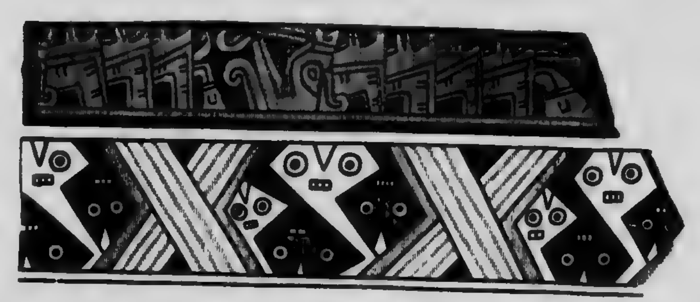


Abb. 3*b*. Zeichnung auf dem Halstheile und der Wölbung des Gefässes aus Cuicallan. Sologuren' sche Sammlung.

Die merkwürdigsten dieser Gefässe sind ohne Zweifel zwei dreibeinige kürge, deren Form und Bemalung, die im Wesentlichen gleich ist, ich in Abb. 3 und 4 wiedergebe. Die Gefässe haben eine Höhe von 22cm, ihr Durchmesser beträgt 16cm, der Durchmesser der Mündung ist 13½cm, die Füsse sind 8cm lang.

An dem Halsteile des Gefässes ist hier mit brauner Farbe und roten Konturen, von einem schwarzen Grunde sich abhe-

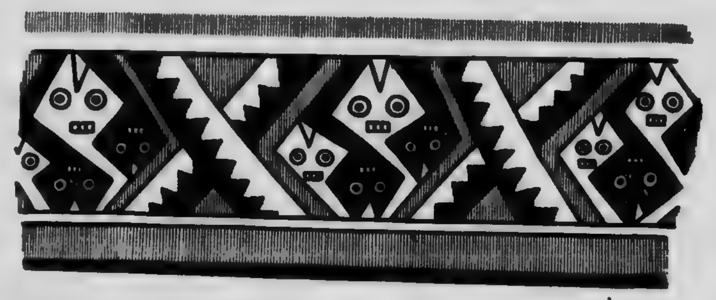


Abb. 4. Zeichnung auf der Wölbung eines zweiten Gefässes der Sologuren' schen Sammlung aus Cuicatlan (Staat Oaxaca).

gezeichnet. Auf der Wölbung aber sieht man in Weiss, Rot und Gelb ein eigentümliches Muster aus sich verschrenkenden bend, eine Art Federschlange, mit nach oben offnem Rachen,

menschlichen Gesichtern, das augenscheinlich aus der Flecht- oder Gewebetechnik entstanden ist und in der auffälligsten Weise an peruanische Gewebmuster erinnert.

Ich habe aus der grossen Zahl von Gefässen der Sologuren'schen Sammlung nur einige wenige beschreiben können. Eine Fülle von Studienmaterial liegt in dieser mit Umsicht und Gewissenhaftigkeit angelegten Sammlung vor, die nur ein in der Gegend Ansässiger, der alle Chancen auszunützen in der Lage ist, in dieser Weise zusammenbringen konnte. Es wäre sehr zu wünschen, dass sich eine Möglichkeit böte, dieses schöne und reiche Material einem öffentlichen Museum zuzuführen, damit es, den Zufälligkeiten menschlicher Dinge nach Möglichkeit entrückt, der Nachwelt erhalten bleibe.

BERICHT UBER DIE

Chemische und physikalische

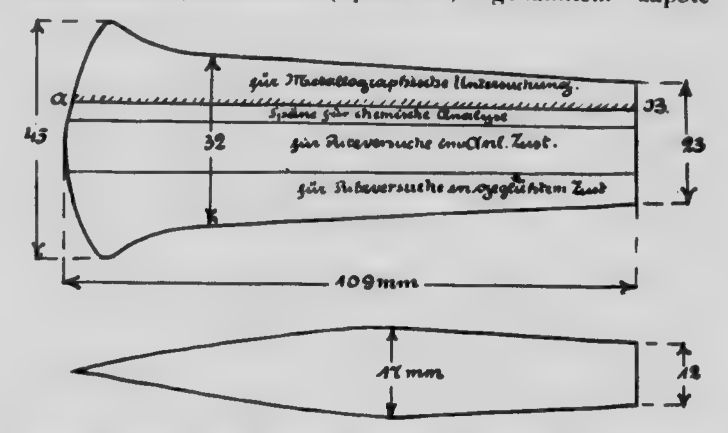
UNTERSUCHUNG EINER MEXIKANISCHEN KUPFERAXT

PAR LE Dr EDUARD SELER, Berlin-Steglitz

Die alten Stämme Mexico's lebten in der Hauptsache noch im Steinzeitalter. Für schneidende Werkzeuge jeder Art, Messer, Pfeilspitzen, Spiesse, schwertartige Angriffswaffen, bildete der Obsidian oder, wo, wie z. B. in Yucatan, dieser fehlte, der Feuerstein das vornehmste Material. Dabei waren natürlich diesen Stämmen die Metalle nicht etwa gänzlich unbekannt. Neben den Edelemetallen, wurde Kupfer in grossen Mengen zu Schmucksachen, Schellen, Fingerringen, s. w. verwendet. Und dieses letztere Material auch in ansehnlichen Quantitäten zu Werkzeugen, zu M[illegible]n mit halbmondförmiger Schneide und zu undu[illegible]bohrten [illegible]n verarbeitet, die meist, nach Art der polynesischen Stein-[illegible] Muscheläxte, an einem knieförmig gebogenen Stiele befestigt wurden. Der Gebrauch solcher Aexte, zum Holzfällen u. s. w., war so sehr ein allgemein[illegible]ss das Wort für Kupfer (mexikanisch *tepoztli*) geradezu eine Bezeichnung der Axt geworden ist. Dagegen war das Eisen den Mexikanern gänzlich unbekannt. Auch scheinen die Mischungen des Kupfers mit Zinn oder Zink der vorspanischen Zeit fremd gewesen zu sein. Man hat allerdings vielfach behauptet, dass die alten Mexikaner auch die Bronze gekannt hätten. Und man möchte das glauben, wenn man z. B. im Bernal Diaz liest, dass die Gefährten Juan de Grijalva's an der Küste von Tabasco in Mengen Aexte aus einem goldglänzenden Metalle einhandelten, das sie für Gold hielten, das sich aber nachher als Kupfer erwies. Es ist indes noch niemals ein Bronzegegenstand sicherer Herkunft aus dem mexikanischen. Altertume bekannt geworden.

Dagegen wissen wir, dass, als Cortes vor seinem zweiten Feldzuge Zinn hatte suchen lassen, um Kanonen als Ersatz für die bei der Flucht aus der Hauptstadt Mexico's verlorenen Stücke giessen zu können, und dies Metall in der Tat in der Gegend von Tasco im Staate Guerrero gefunden hatte, auch die Eingeborenen die praktische Brauchbarkeit der Bronzemischung für Werkzeuge erkannten und dass seitdem Ackerwerkzeuge und andere Geräte von den Indianern aus dieser Legierung hergestellt und verwendet wurden.

Für die Frage, ob die Bronze oder andere ähnliche Metalllegierungen den Mexikanern in vorspanischer Zeit bekannt gewesen seien, ist es von einem gewissen Interesse zu erfahren, ob das Kupfer, das ja in gewissen Gegenden, Z. B. im Staate Oaxaca, im Staate Guerrero u. a. a. o. in grossen Mengen zu halbmondförmigen Messern (*tepozuictli*, sogenanntem « zapote-



kischem Gelde ») und Aexten (*tepoztli*) verarbeitet wurde, sich zu solcher Verwendung eignet, d. h. ob den alten Mexikanern ein Verfahren bekannt gewesen ist, diesem Metalle eine Härte zu geben, die die aus ihm gefertigten Werkzeuge zum Schneiden, Holzspalten u. s. w. geeignet erscheinen liess. Ich habe, um diese Frage zu entscheiden, eine alte Kupferaxt, die in der Gegend von Tlaxiaco ih der Mixteca alta gefunden worden ist, und die ich auf meiner zweiten mexikanischen Reise dort gesammelt habe, durch das Königliche Materialprüfungsamt in Gross-Lichterfelde bei Berlin in Bezug auf seine chemischen und phy-

sikalischen Eigenschaften untersuchen lassen. Die Ergebnisse dieser Untersuchung sind folgende:

Die Axt, deren Form und Dimensionen aus der Abbildung 1 ersichtlich sind, besteht in der Hauptsache aus Kupfer mit geringen Beimengungen anderer Metalle und zwar fand sich in ihr:

Zink	0.17%
Silber	0.13%
Nickel	0.02%
Eisen	0.02%
Wismuth	0.02%
Schwefel	0.01%
Blei, in Spuren weniger als	0.01%
Arsen	dgl
Antimon	dgl
Zinn und Phosphor nicht nachweisbar.	

Die physikalische Untersuchung erstreckte sich zunächst auf eine Bestimmung der Ritzhärte. Die Prüfung erfolgte mit dem Härteprüfer von Martens (1). Dieser Apparat besteht im wesentlichen aus einem kegelförmig zugespitzten, von einem Wagebalken getragenen Diamanten, dessen Spitze unter verschiedenen Belastungen über die feinpolierten Flächen fortgezogen wurde. Die Strichbreiten wurden mit dem Okularschraubenmikrometer und dem Objektiv von Karl Zeiss ausgemessen. Die Ergebnisse sind in der Tabelle 1 zusammengestellt. Zum Vergleiche wurde ein geglühtes Kupferblech aus den Beständen des Amtes geritzt. Die Härtegrade H. d. h. die Belastungen in grammen für 0, 01 mm Ritzbreite, sind aus den Ausgleichslinien ermittelt, die sich bei der graphischen Aufzeichnung der Tabellenwerte ergaben.

(1) Vgl. « Mitteilungen aus den Königlichen Technischen Versuchsanstalten » 1890, S. 225, und A. Martens « Handbuch der Materialienkunde ». Absatz 341-359.

TABELLE — I.

Versuch Nr.	Entnommen aus	Zustand	Ritzung	Ritzbreiten in mm. bei den übergeschriebenen Belastungen ing. 1	2	4	6	8	10	Hartegrad Belastreng in g-für o, o1 mm Ritzbreite H
1	Spitze	Anlieferung	1	....	0,0062	0,0068	0,0092	0,0098	0,0116	7.5
			2	....	0,0048	0,C074	0,0108	0,0094	0,0104	
			3	....	0,0048	0,0076	0,0110	0,0098	0,0100	
			4	....	0,0052	0,0086	0 0086	0,0106	0,0102	
			5	....	0,0038	0,0082	0,0088	0,0098		
			Mittel	....	0,0050	0,0078	0,0096	0,0098	0,0106	
2	Kup-	geglüht	1	....	0,0068	0,0106	0,0140	0,0156	0,0174	3.9
			2	....	0,0062	0,0098	0,0142	0,0162	0,0158	
			3	....	0,0060	0,0098	0,0142	0,0160	0,0176	
			4	....	0 0062	0,0096	0,0140	0 0158	0,0172	
			5	....	0,0064	0,0098	0,0140	0,0150	0,0172	
			Mittel	....	0,0063	0,0099	0,0141	0,0157	0,0170	
3	fer- Mit-	Anlieferung	1	....	0,0062	0,0106	0 0114	0,0118	0,0162	4.5
			2	....	0,0060	0,0092	0,0112	0,0134	0,0148	
			3	....	0,0050	0,0100	0,0126	0,0128	0,0152	
			4	....	0,0068	0,0094	0,0114	0,0150	0,0152	
			5	....	0,0066	0,0092	0,0120	0,0144	0,0156	
			Mittel	....	0,0062	0,0096	0,0118	0,0134	0,0154	

4		te	ge-glüht	1	....	0,0052	0,0098	0,0116	0,0150	0,0158	4.4
				2	....	0,0072	0,0100	0,0110	0,0158	0,0160	
				3	....	0,0060	0,0098	0,0116	0,0156	0,0154	
				4	....	0,0064	0,0094	0,0120	0,0144	0,0166	
				5	....	0,0056	0,0104	0,0130	0,0144	0,0160	
				Mittel	....	0,0061	0,0099	0,0118	0,0150	0,0160	
5	beil	Brei-tes	An-liefe-rung	1	....	0,0082	0,0108	0,0112	0,0160	0,0164	3.7
				2	....	0,0074	0,0096	0,0128	0,0142	0,0154	
				3	....	0,0070	0,0114	0,0122	0,0146	0,0146	
				4	....	0,0070	0,0112	0,0128	0 0148	0,0164	
				5	....	0,0076	0,0108	0,0132	0,0150	0,0154	
				Mittel	....	0,0074	0,0108	0,0124	0,0150	0,0158	
6		En-de	ge-glüht	1	....	0,0072	0,0110	0,0136	0,0138	0,0160	3.7
				2	....	0,0064	0,0110	0,0140	0,0152	0,0146	
				3	....	0,0068	0,0110	0,0152	0,0168	0,0154	
				4	....	0,0068	0,0098	0,0152	0,0148	0,0148	
				5	....	0,0070	0,0104	0,0140	0,0152	0,0154	
				Mittel	....	0,0068	0,0106	0,0144	0,0155	0,0152	
7	Kupfer-blech des Amtes		ge-glüht	1	0,0052	0 0074	0,0120	0,0140	....	....	3,6
				2	0,0066	0,0078	0,0112	0,0136	....	....	
				3	0,0048	0,0064	0,0106	0,0128	....	....	
				4	0,0052	0,0082	0,0108	0,0108	....	....	
				5	0,0064	0,0084	0,0110	0,0130	....	....	
				Mittel	0,0056	0,0076	0,0112	0,0128			

Diese Versuche zeigen also, dass bei dem fraglichen Stücke die Härte an der Spitze, in der Nähe der Schneidkante, eine bedeutend grössere war, als in der Mittte oder an dem obern breiten Ende.

Sodann wurde in der Abteilung 4 des Königlichen Materialprüfungsamtes eind metallographische Untersuchung des Beiles vorgenommen. In der in der Abbildung 1 mit A B bezeichneten Linie wurde ein Schnitt durch die Axt gelegt. Die schraffiert gezeichnete Schnittfläche wurde geschliffen und poliert. Unter



Abb. 2. Schneidkante

dem Mikroskope waren im Schiiffe reichliche Mengen von Kupferoxydul erkennbar. Siehe Abb. 3, 4. K. K. sind Kupferkrystalliten; e.e stellen die eutektische Legierung zwischen Kupferoxydul und Kupfer dar [1]. Das Gefüge erinnert an gegossenes Kupter. *In der Nähe der Schneidkanten waren die Kupferkrystalliten und die Maschen des Netzwerkes in der Richtung der Längsachse der Axt gestreckt* (siehe Abb. 2 und 3). Diese Streckung ist eine Folge von Kaltbearbeitung. Das

(1) Vgl. E. Heyn « Kupter und Sauerstoff ». Mitteilungen aus den Königlichen Technischen Versuchsanstalten 1900. S. 315.

Gefüge zeigt also die Eigenschsft von gegossenem Kupfer, das in der Nähe der Schneide kalt geschmiedet wurde, was wahrscheinlich den Zweck hatte, die Schneidkante widerstandsfähiger zu machen.

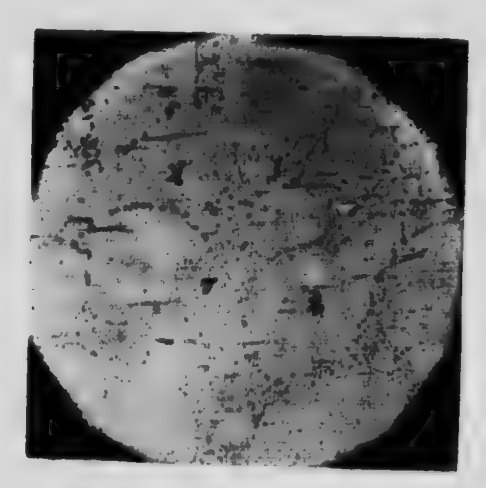


Abb. 3. Zu der Nähe der Schneidkante

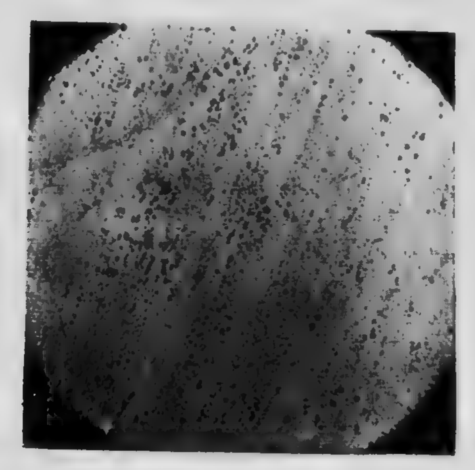


Abb. 4. Zu einiger Entfernung von der Schneidkante

STUDIEN IN DEN RUINEN
VON YUCATAN

PAR LE Dr EDUARD SELER, Berlin-Steglitz

Bei unserm Aufenthalt in Yucatan in den Monaten Februar und März des Jahres 1903 haben wir die Sä,dte und Museen von Campeche und Mérida, die Ortschaften Ticul, Mani, Fzamal, Citas, Cusumal, Hecelchakan und die Ruinen von Mayapan, Uxmal, Kabáh, Labná, Xta auat pak (Maler xlab pak), Sayí, Xcalum kin und Chich'en itzá besucht. Bei der Kürze der uns zur Verfügung stehenden Zeit, war es uns natürlich nicht möglich, ausgedehnte Aufnahmen zu machen. Es ist ja gerade in diesem Gebiete von früheren Forschern,—ich nenne nur Stephens, Charney, Maudslay, Holmes, Thomson, Maler,—viel gescheheen. Ich habe meine Aufmerksamkeit den Einzelheitender Ornamentation zugewandt und dabei gerade in zwei der der berühmtesten Ruinenstätten, in Uxmal und Chich'en itzá, enige Beobachtungen macken können, die vielleicht nicht ohne Interesse sind.

In *Uxmal* ist das höchste Gebäude die sogenannte *Casa del Adivino*(Haus des Wahrsagers). Es ist eine Pyramide, zu der auf der Ostseite eine hohe steile Treppe hinaufführt. Die Gebäude haben ihre Front nach Westen. Und zwar sind in drei verschiedenen Etagen von Steinwänden umschlossene Zimmer an der Pyramide angebracht. An der Basis der Westseite ist eine breite Façade zu sehen, die aber nachträglich in de Mitte mit einer Dreieckswölbung überbaut werden ist. Sei es, dass man dort eine Treppe zu dem Bauwerke des mittleren Stockwerkes hat bauen wollen, sei es, dass zu irgend einer Zeit das Bedürfniss sich herausgestellt hat, das ganze Bauwerk durch einen Strebepfeiler zu stützen. Durch diese Ueberbauung geschützt, ist in dem mittleren Theile der Façade dieses Basalgebäudes noch eine wohlerhaltene Riesenmaske mit dem sogenannten Elephantenrüssel und ein aus einem Schlangenrachen hervor schauendes menschliches Gesicht von hoher Schönheit zn sehen,—ein Bildwerk, das von den Leuten der Gegend als « La Vieja » (die Alte) bezeichnet wird. Ein Abguss davon befindet sich im kgl. Museum für Völkerkunde.



Abb. 1a

Astronomische (?) Zeichen in den Wickeln nu beiden Seiten der Thür des mittleren oder Hauptgebäudes der Casa del Adivino in Uxmal.

Das Gebäude des mittleren Stockwerkes besteht aus zwei hinter einander liegenden schmalen Zimmern, die nach Westen sich öffnen. Die Aussenwände sind mit den merkwürdigen Steinmasken mit rüsselförmig verlängerten, hier nach oben gebogenen Nasen (sogenannten Elephantenrüsseln) verziert und die Thüröffnung der westlichen oder Hauptfaçade ist die gewaltige Mundöffnung einer solchen Riesenmaske. Auf den Augenbrauen dieser Maske ist die Hieroglyphe des Planeten Venus angegeben und unter dem Auge die Zahl acht. Das ist als acht Jahre auf zu fassen, der Zeitraum, der genau fünf Venusperioden entspricht (8 × 365 5 × 584). Ueber der Nase war eine sitzende Figur dargestellt, von zwei auf dem Bauche liegenden menschlichen Figuren getragen. Von dieser grossen Figur, die

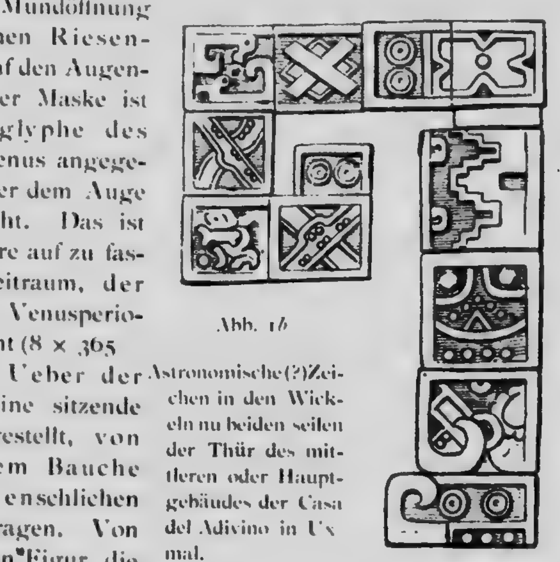


Abb. 1b

Astronomische (?) Zeichen in den Wickeln nu beiden seiten der Thür des mittleren oder Hauptgebäudes der Casa del Adivino in Uxmal.

vielleicht die Gottheit des Planeten Venus darstellte, ist aber nur der reiche Federschmuck erhalten. Die Wandflächen zu beiden Seiten der Thüre sind mit grossen Mäanderwickeln geschmückt, die ganz mit astronomischen Zeichen oder Hieroglyphen erfüllt sind (abb. 1a, 1b.)

Das oberste, auf dem Gipfel der Pyramide stehende Gebäude enthält drei Gemächer in einer Reihe neben einander. Die Aussenwände dieses Gebaüdes sind merkwürdig durch eine. Verzierung in vertieften Punkten (nach Art der Näpfchensteine), wodurch auf der glatten Wandfläche Muster hervorgebracth sind, und die erhöhten Theile der in Relief gearbeiteten Ornamente noch eine besondere Verzierung erfahren. - Das ganze Gebäude ist offenbar dem Kultus der Gottheit des Planeten Venus, und zwar seiner besonderen Form als Abendstern, geweiht gewesen und war vielleicht ein Observatorium zur Beobachtung der Auf- und Untergänge jenes von den alten Mexikanern so sehr beachteten Gestirnes.

Ziemlich nahe der Casa del Adivino stehen vier lange schmale Gebäude, die die vier Seiten eines nach den Himmelsrichtungen orientierten quadratischen Hofes umgeben. Sie enthalten im Innern eine Doppelreihe kleiner Zimmer, und das Ganze wird desshalb seit alter Zeit als die *Casa de Monjas* (das Nonnenhaus) bezeichnet. Die dem Hofe zugekehrten Innenwände dieser Gebäude sind über der Thürhöhe mit einem reich verzierten Friese versehen. Unter den Verzierungen spielen wieder die grossen Masken mit der rüsselförmig verlängerten Nase eine bedeutsame Rolle. Die Verzierung ist übrigens bei den vier Gebäuden eine verschiedene.

Bei dem östlichen, mit der Innenfront nach Westen gekehrten Gebäude sind über der Mitte und an den Ecken drei Masken über einander aufgebaut. Die rüsselförmig verlängerten Nasen sind, wie bei der Casa del Adivino nach oben gebogen, und auf der obersten Maske der mittleren Maskensäule, aber diesmal unter dem Auge, ist wieder die Hieroglyphe des Planeten Venus zu sehen (Abb. 2). Wir können schliessen, dass dieses östliche Gebäude, gleich der Casa del Adivino, der Gottheit des Planeten Venus gewidmet war. Zwischen den Maskensäulen sind acht doppelköpfige Schlangen über einander aufge-

baut, ganz ähnlich denen, die ich nachher bei der Casa del Gobernador zu erwähnen haben werde.

Bei dem westlichen, mit der Innenfront nach Osten gekehrten Gebäude sind die rüsselförmig verlängerten Nasen der ebenfalls zu dreien über einander gebauten grossen Masken nach unten gebogen. Die ganze Simsfläche ist in Felder abgetheilt, die von zwei sich verknotenden riesigen Federschlangen umzogen werden. Die Quetzalfederschlange war den Mexikanern das Sinnbild und Abbild des Wassers, der Vegetation, des Gedeihens der Fruchtbarkeit. Den dieses verbürgenden Mächten war offenbar dieses westliche Gebäude geweiht.

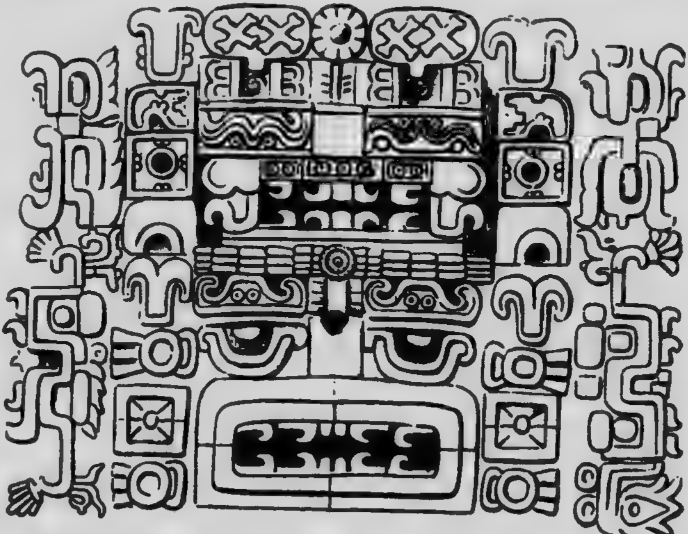


Abb. 2. Die beiden obersten Masken der Maskensäule an dem Ostgebäude der Casa de las Monjas in Uxmal.

Bei dem südlichen, mit der Innenfront nach Norden gekehrten Gebäude zeigt der Fries über den Thüren, die zu den Zimmern führen, in Relief ausgeführt, das Bild eines mit Stroh oder Palmblattdach versehenen Hauses und darüber eine Maske einfacherer Art, ohne rüsselförmig verlängerte Nase, aber mit lang heraushängenden Hauzähnen. Ich vermuthe, dass dieses Gebäude den im Norden, im dunklen Hause der Erde herrschenden Gewalten gewidmet war.

Das nördliche, mit der Innenfront nach Süden gekehrte Gebäude steht auf einer erhöhten Terrasse und weist die reichsten Verzierungen am Friese auf. Ueber den Thüren sind vier Masken über einander aufgebaut, deren rüsselförmig verlängerte Nasen nach unten gebogen sind. Und diese Maskensäulen sind von einem Riesen-en face-Gesicht gekrönt, das durch die Ringe um die Augen und den beiderseits nach unten gebogenen Lippenstreifen an *Tlaloc*, den mexikanischen Regengott erinnert. (Abb. 3). Dieses en face-Gesicht ist auf den vier Seiten (vgl. Abb. 4) von einem aus einem Trapez und

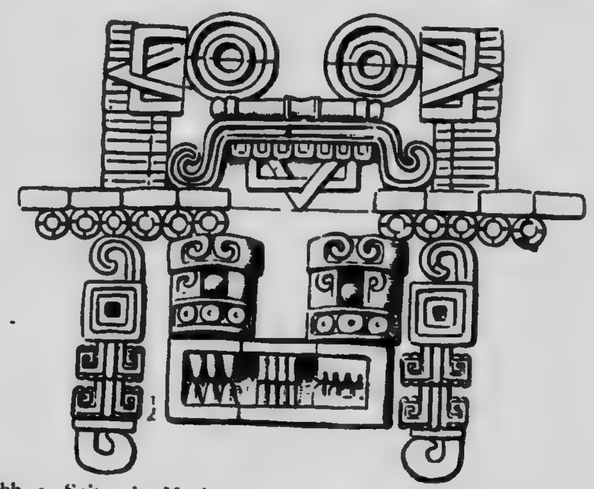


Abb. 3. Spitne der Maskensäulen an dem Nordgebäude der Casa de las Monjas in Uxmal.

einem Dreieckswinkel bestehenden Doppelgebilde eingefasst, der ornamentalen Ausgestaltung eines aus Ring und Strahl bestehenden Doppelgebildes, das die Abbreviatur des Sonnenbildes darstellt und in den Bilderschriften zur Bezeichnung eines Jahres verwendet wird. Der mexikanische Regengott ist im Codex Borgia, mit diesem Doppelbilde gekrönt, als Repräsentant der vier Jahre dargestellt, — weil der Regengott der Repräsentant der Himmelsrichtungen ist, und die vier Jahre den vier Himmelsrichtungen entsprechen. Ich habe, als ich in Uxmal dieses Riesen-en face-Gesicht entdeckte, es zuerst



Abb. 4. Losgelöstes Façadenstück, an der Basis des untersten der drei Gebäude der "Casa del Adivino" in Uxmal gefunden.

ohne Weiteres als Gesieht des mexikanischen Regengottes und als Repräsentation der vier Jahre angenommen. Als Repräsentation der vier Jahre und der vier Richtungen sehe ich dies en face-Gesicht auch heute noch an. Ich halte es indess für wakrscheinlicher, dass dieses en face-Gesicht eine ornamentale Form des *ahau*, des hieroglyphischen Sonnengesichtes der Maya-Hand schriften darstellt, und nicht mit dem mexikanischen Regengott in Verbindung zu bringen ist. In den Zwischenräumen zwichen den Maskensäulen sieht man Häuser ähnlich denen über den Thüren des Südgebäudes, mit einem First aus Mattengeflecht, weiter abwärts ein Haus mit einem aus über einander fallenden Federn gebildeten Dache, aus dem drei Schlangen heraus kommen. Uber dem Hause ist endlich, wie auf dem Friese des Südgebäudes, eine Maske einfacherer Art angebracht. Ich glaube, dass dieses Nordgebäude der Gottheit der Sonne und des Himmels geweiht gewesen ist.

Nach Süden von der Casa de Monjas, zwischen ihr und der hohen Terrasse, auf der die gleich zu besprechende Casa del Gobernador liegt, befindet sich in der Vertiefung der Ballspielplatz, auf beiden Seiten von einem wallartigen Aufbau eingefasst. An der dem Innenraume zugekehrten Front dièser Seitenwälle waren steinerne Ringe eingefügt, auf deren beiden Flächen Reihen von kalkuliformen Hieroglyphen von Maya-Form ausgemeisselt waren. Von diesen Ringen sind noch ziemlich ansehnliche Bruchstücke in der Wand befestigt zu sehen.

Dann folgt eine hohe Terrasse, auf der man zunächst zur Rechten ein Gebäude trifft, das am Friese mit Figuren von Schildkröten geschmückt ist, und das deshalb als *Casa de Tortu-*

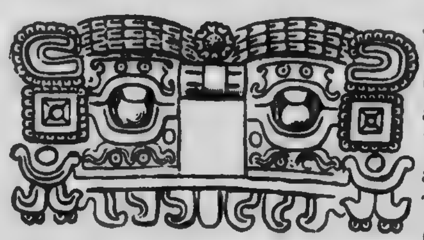


Abb. 5 Steinmaske von der Front der "Casa del Gobernador" in Uxmal.

gas (Schildkrötenhaus) bezeichnet wird, über dessen Bestimmung ich aber nichts angeben kann. Und darüber erhebt sich auf einer noch höheren Terrasse die sogenannte *Casa del Gobernador* (das Haus des Gouverneurs). Es ist ein langes schmales Gebäude, dessen Hauptfront nach Osten liegt. Eine doppelte Reihe von Zimmern öffnet sich nach dieser Seite. Auch von den schmalen Süd-und Nordseiten gelangt man in je ein Doppel-Zimmer. Die Westfront hat geschlossene Wände. In der Simsverzierung spielen auch hier wieder die grossen Steinmasken eine Rolle, deren rüsselförmig verlängerte Nasen hier nach unten gebogen sind. Unter den Augen ist in sämmtlichen Masken die Hieroglyphe des Planeten Venus angeben (Abb. 5). An der östlichen oder Hauptfront waren ausserdem sieben grösser und acht kleinere Figuren angebracht. Die mittlere und Hauptfigur ist von einem nach oben sich erweiternden Aufbau von acht doppelköpfigen Schlangen umrahmt, der in der Form ganz den oben erwähnten Aufbauen an der Innenfront des Ostgebäudes der Casa de las Monjas gleicht. Nur sind die geradlinigen Schlangenleiber hier an der Ost front der Casa del Gobernador ganz und gar mit astronomischen Zeichen oder Hieroglyphen erfüllt.

In alten, aus dem letzten Viertel des sechszehnten Jahrhunderts stammenden Berichten über yukatekische Städte bin ich wiederholt der übereinstimmenden Angabe begegnet, dass die als Wohnungen benützten Baulichkeiten mit der Front dem Osten, Norden oder Süden zugekehrt gewesen wären, und dass nur die Tempel ihre Thüröffnungen und ihre Fassaden nach Westen gehabt hätten. Wenn wir demnach hier in der Casa del Gobernador ein Gebäude vor uns haben, das in den Einzelheiten der Ornamentation mit der Casa del Adivino und dem Ostgebäude der Casa de las Monjas übereinstimmt, das aber seine Front dem Osten zugekehrt hat, während Casa del Adivino und Ostgebäude der Casa de las Monjas nach Westen gerichtet

sind, so werden wir wohl schliessen dürfen, dass die beiden letzteren Gebäde Tempel, Kultusgebäude waren, — wie ich oben angegeben habe, vermuthlich der Gottheit des Planeten Venus geweiht, — dass die Casa del Gobernador aber ein Wohngebäude war, vielleicht der Palast des Oberpriesters jener Gottheit und seines priesterlichen Gefolges. Und wir können dann die weitere Folgerung machen, dass der Kultus der Gottheit des Morgensternes bei jenen Stämmen, oder die Beschäftigung mit astronomischen Dingen bei den Priestern jener Stämme, eine hervorragende Rolle gespielt haben.

Den Gebäuden von Uxmal gleichen in dem allgemeinen Charakter der Ornamentation eine ganze Menge anderer Ruinenstädte, die in den Wildnissen des westlichen Theiles der Halbinsel zerstreut sind. Nur dass ich eigentlich keine einzige Ruine weiter kenne, bei der die Ornamentation so reich und gleichzeitig so variiert und so bedeutsam ist, wei bei den Gebäuden von Uxmal, so dass in der That diese Ruinenstätte zu den hervorragendsten der gegenwärtig noch erhaltenen gehört.

Einen etwas anderen Charaktér weisen die Ruinen von *Chich'en itzá* auf, die der östlichen Hälfte von Yucatan angehören. Wahrend in Uxmal die Hauptgebäude dicht bei einander liegen, sind in Chich'en itzá die verschiedenen Monumente mehr zerstreut, sind aber noch zahlreicher und fast noch gewaltiger als die von Uxmal.

Unter den Gebäuden begegnen uns zunächst allerdings solche, die im allgemeinem Charakter mit denen von Uxmal durchaus übereinstimmen. Das ist insbesondere das hier in Chich'en itzá *Casa de las Monjas* genannte Gebäude, das aber in seinem Charakter, und vermuthlich auch seiner Bedeutung der Casa del Adivino von Uxmal entspricht. Auch hier sind die Gebäude in drei verschiedene Stockwerke vertheilt, mit einem schmalen, wenigkammerigen auf der Spitze endend. Und hier führt sogar noch eine Treppe, die die nach Norden gerichtete Front überbaut, auf das Dach des Gipfelgebäudes, so dass einem hier noch mehr als bei der Casa del Adivino von Uxmal die Idee eines Observatoriums suggeriert wird. Wie die Gebäude von Uxmal sind auch die Friese bei dieser Casa de las Monjas von Chich'en itzá mit den merkwürdigen Masken mit der rüssel-

förmig verlängerten Nase verziert. Dem mittleren (und Haupt-) Gebäude der Casa del Adivino von Uxmal scheint hier bei der Casa de las Monjas von Chich'en itzá der zu ebener Erde gelegene Ostflügel zu entsprechen. Von den grossen Masken, die der Wandfläche und dem Friese eingesetzt sind, haben wenigstens die an den Ecken angebrachten ihre rüsselförmig verlangerte Nase nach oben gebogen. Die Thüre wird auch hier von der Mundöffnung einer Riesenmaske gebildet. Die Hieroglyphe des Planeten Venus ist nicht auf den Masken selbst angegeben (wie in Uxmal), wohl aber findet sie sich unter den Hieroglyphen einer Inschrift, die auf der Thüroberschwelle steht. Uud über der die Thüre in sich schliessenden Riesenmaske findet sich ein schmales Band, in dem verschiedene astronomische Zeichen mit der Hieroglyphe des Planeten Venus verbunden sind, was vielleicht als Conjunctionen des Planeten Venus mit anderen Sternen zu deuten ist. In der Mitte über dem Thor, unmittelbar über dem eben erwähnten schmalen Bande mit den Conjunctionen der Venus, thront auch hier eine durch reichen Federschmuck ausgezeichnete Gestalt, die vielleicht, wie an der Casa del Adivino von Uxmal, die Gottheit des Planeten Venus darstellt.

Einige andere Gebäude gibt es noch in Chich'en itzá, die, gleich der Casa de las Monjas, in der Dekoration mehr oder minder sich den Gebäuden von Uxmal anschliessen. Die Hauptmasse der Monumente aber ist anderen Charakters und stellt einen besonderen Stil dar, als dessen Typus das sogenannte *Castillo* (Schloss) und der die Südostecke des Ballspielplatzes bildende *Tempel der Jaguare und der Schilde* dienen können. Hier haben wir Gemächer, die von Pfeilern getragen werden, und die vier Seiten dieser Pfeiler sind, ebenso wie die Innen- und Aussenwände der Eingänge, mit Figurenreliefen geschmückt. Der Haupteingang ist von Pfeilern eigener Art gestützt, die eine mit dem Kopfe am Boden liegende Federschlange darstellen. Vor dem Eingange scheint fasst überall eine jener Figuren gestanden zu haben, wie Le Plongeon eine ausgegraben und als Chac Mool getauft hat. Und im Hintergrunde des Gemaches, oder schon in der Eingangshalle scheint überall ein von Karyatiden getragener Tisch gestanden zu haben, der vielleicht für Opfer gaben diente. Die Figurenreliefe, die zum Theil auch die

ganzen Wande der Gemälcher bedecken, weichen im Charakter von den Figuren der echten Maya-Monumente (z. B. von Palenque) und der Maya-Handschriften ab. Hier sind keine deformirten Schä del, keine verzwickten Stellungen und auch nicht jene Verschnörkelungen zu sehen, die die Figuren der echten Maya-Monumente kennzeichnen. Und ich habe schon an anderer Stelle den Nachweis geführt, dass diese Reliefe auf das Bestimmteste beweisen, dass hier in Chich'en itzá ein Volk mexikanischer Abstammung eine beherrschende Stellung inne gehabt hat.

Einen weiteren neuen Typus, der sonst nur noch aus den Ruinen von Mayapan bekannt geworden ist, stellt der sogenannte *Caracol* (Schnecke) von Chich'en itzá dar. Das ist ein kreisrundes Gebäude, das aus einem zylindrischen Kern, in dessen Innern eine spirale Treppe zur Höhe führt, und einem rings umlaufenden kreisförmigen Gange besteht. Auch dies Gebäude scheint auf das Bestimmteste einen mexikanischen Einfluss zu bekunden. Denn von den Mexikanern wird uns berichtet, dass sie ibrem Gotte *Quetzalconatl*, in seiner besonderen Gestalt oder Auffassung als Windgott, kreisrunde Tempel bauten.

Auf weitere Einzelheiten muss ich mir hier versagen einzugehen. Ich hoffe, in diesem oder dem nächsten Jahre meine Studien an den Monumenten von Yucatan noch einmal wieder aufnehmen zu können, und werde daun vielleicht in einer grössern Abbandlung die Ergebnisse meiner Untersuchungen vorlegen können [1].

(1) « Quetzalconatl-Kukulcan in Yucatan » Zeitschrift für Ethnologie XXX (1898) S. 377–410; Seler, Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur amerikanischen Sprach und Alterthumskunde, Band I (1902) S. 668–705.



GOLFO DE CAMPECHE
TABASCO
LAGUNA DE TERMINOS
CHONTALPA
ACALÁ
LACANDONEN
LACANTÚN
LACANDONEN
ACALA
TEZULUT
TAPACHULA
QUEZALTENANGO
GUATEMALA
CHAMPERICO
PACIFIC OCEAN
Erklärungen
GEGENWÄRTIGE VERBREITUNG DER CHOLSPRACHE
GEGENWÄRTIGE VERBREITUNG DER CHORTISPRACHE
ORTSCHAFTEN 16. JAHRH.
MODERNE ORTSCHAFT



MAR DE LOS ANTILLOS
ITZAES
TAIÇA (AHITZA)
EL PETEN
MOPANES
MOPANES
ACALÁ
GOLFO DE HONDURAS
CHOLES
MANCHES
ZULUTAN (VERAPAZ)
HIGUERAS
GUATEMALA
CHIQUIMULA
JALAPA
X Schlachten

CHOLES UND CHORTIES

PAR KARL SAPPER, Tübingen

Dr Otto Stoll hat auf der Karte [illegible] den ethnographischen Arbeit (1) über G[illegible] den Choles den weiten Raum vom nordöstlichen Chiapas qu[illegible] Peten und über den See von Yzabal hinweg bis zum Golf von Amatique zugewiesen, wobei er sich hauptsächlich von den Angaben des Isagoge Historico Apologetico General de todas las Indias y Especial de la Provincia de Chiapas y Guatemala (2) leiten liess; den Chorties dagegen w[illegible] das östlich daran anschliessende Stück Ostguatemalas vorbehalten. Die Sprache der Choles hatte Stoll nach dem von D[illegible]dt gesammelten Material als nächste Verwandte des Chontal und der Mayasprache s. str. erkannt, während er das Chorti nach einem höchst düftigen, von Stephens (3) gesammelten Vocabular als nahe Verwandte des Pokomam ansah. Bei meinen mehrfachen Reisen in die betreffenden Gebiete habe ich nun feststellen können, (4) dass gegenwärtig das Chol nur noch im nordöstlichen Chiapas und den angrenzenden Teilen von Tabasco (Jicotencal) gesprochen wird, während das Chorti im östlichen Teil des guatemaltekischen Departements Chiquimula und den angrenzenden Teilen der Republik Honduras fortlebt; es zeigte sich ferner, dass die von Stephens, gesammelten Vocabeln gar nicht dem Chorti angehörten, sondern dem Pocomam, dass also Stephens aus Ver-

(1) Zur Ethnographie der Republik Guatemala, Zürich 1884.

(2) MS. der Bibliothek von Guatemala, abgedruckt in Madrid 1893.

(3) Incidents of travels in Central America, Chiapas and Yucatan. New York 1841.

(4) Nördliches Mittelamerica, Braunschweig 1897 S. 244, 348, 383, 408 ff, und die ethnographischen Karten mit Text in Petermanns Mitteilungen 1893, Heft 1. (Guatemala), 1895 Heft 8 (Südostmexico und Britisch-Honduras), und 1901, Heft 2, (südl, Mittelamerica.)

sehen vermutlich einen durchreisenden Indianer ausgefragt hat. Das wirkliche Chorti steht nun dem Chol so nahe, wie durch die nachfolgenden Vocabularien näher belegt werden wird, dass man es fast eher als einen Dialect des Chol, denn als eine besondere Sprache ansehen muss weshalb auch vonden musten älteren Schriftstellern die Chorties als irn Teil des Choles behandelt worden sind.

Die gegenwärtige Verbreitung und Zugehörigkeit der Chol- und Chortisprache ist hinreichend sichergestellt. Es frägt sich aber, wie es in der Vergangenheit war.

Diego Garcia de Palacio führt in seinem Bericht an den König von Spanien von Jahr 1576 (¹) als Sprache von Chiquimula de la Sierra und der Umgebung von Copan das Apay an und fügt hinzu, « nach alten Ueberlieferungen hat ein Volk aus Yucatan vor alten Zeiten die Provinzen von Ayajal, Lacandon, Verapaz, die Gegend von Chiquimula und diese von Chiquimula und diese von Copan erobert und sich unterwürfig gemacht ; ausserdem ist die Apaysprache auch in Yucatan und den anderen Provinzen in Gebrauch und wird dort verstanden. » (In der Tat veermochte die Dolmetscherin des Cortez, Marina, wie Stoll a. a. O. S. 91 hervorhebt, sich mit dem Bewohnern der Umgebung des Yzabalsees zu verständigen). Für die Verepaz gibt Palacio Poconchi und Caechicolchi an : es ist klar, dass damit die noch heute gesprochenen Sprachen Poconchi und Kekchi gemeint sind sowie eine dritte « colchi », die als Synonym für Apay anzusehen ist und als Schreibfehler für « Cholchi », « Cholsprache » gelten darf, ein Wort, das noch jetzt von den Kekchi-Indianern benützt wird.—Auffallend ist nur, dass dem-in der Verapaz schon zu Palacios Zeiten der Lautwandel von t in ch eingetreten war, während Fr. Francisco Moran (²) noch 1695 für die Sprache der Villa de Delores das Wort Cholti anwendet. Leider ist mir das Vocabular Maran nicht zugänlich gewesen, was ich umso mehr bedaure, als man nach den historischen Nachrichten annehmen muss, dass dies Vocabular

(1) Uebersetzt von A. v. Trautwein, Berlin, New-York, London 1873.

(2) Arte y vocabulario en lengua Cholti, MS. der Sammlung Berendt, citiert von Stoll, a. a. O. S. 89.

unmittelbrr nach der Besitzergreifung des betreffnden Lacandorts (Nuestra Señora de los Delores) niedergeschrieben worden ist; dahier die Sprache der Lacandonen ausdrücklich als « Cholti » beziehnet ist, wäre auch festgestellt, dass das Chol damals im östlichen Chiapas bis zum Usumacinta hin gesprochen worden wäre. Die kleine von Villagutierre y Sotomayor [1] mitgeteilte Sprachprobe (S. 262) « utz impusidal » [2] spricht zwar nicht mit voller Bestimmtheit dafür, da im heutigen Chol die Formel « gut ist mein Herz » lauten müsste: « utz ni pusical », aber da mehrfach in indianischen Sprachen z. B. nach O. Stoll's Mitteilung im Cakchiquel, eine Aenderung von *ni* und *im* vonkommt so ist es doch höchst wahrschemlich, dass hier wahres Chol vorhegt. Allerdings kann der Umstand, dass die Sprache der Lacandonen Chalti genannt ist, nicht als absoluter Beweis dafür gelten, dass es sich wirklich um Chol handle, denn die Choles selbst nennen ihre Sprache Putum, und wenn man nach dem gegenwärtigen Sprachgebrauch der Kekchi-Indianer gehen wollte, so dürfte man mit dem Namen Cholsprache nur etwa den Begriff einer Barbarensprache verbinden, denn die Kekchi-Indianer vestehen unter « Chol evüink » alle heidnischen Indianer der Nachbarschaft, so insbesonderr die Maya-redenden Lacandonen des Peten. Die Sprache von S. Luis im Peten und sam Antonio in Britisch Honduras, die von den Kekchi ausdrüeküch als « Cholchi » beseichnet wird ist ein Mayadialect, der sich nur unterscheidet [3]. Unter solchen Umständen ist es auch

(1) Historia de la Conquista de la provincia de el Itza, reduccion y progressos de la de el Lacandon, y otras naciones de Indios barbaros. Madrid 1701.

(2) Es ist die spanische Orthographie mit den von Stoll (a. a. O. S. 39) vorgeschlagenen Modifikationem gebraucht, ist schon von den spanischen Mönchen für unsern sch-Laut eingeführt worden.

(3) Nach meiner kleinen Sprachaufnahme in S. Luis und Erkundigung uber die Sprache von S. Antonio ist einer der Hauptunterschiede gegenüber reiner Maya ein häufiger Lautwandel von a in u: z. B. Maiskolben nul (Maya nal). Totoposte sucpet (Mava sacpet) Fleisch buk (Mava bak). Sabane chuk' an (maya chak'an). Hand k'ul (Maya k'al) 4 cumbel (maya can), 6 vukbel (Maya vak) rot chuk (Maya chak) weiss suk (Maya sak), gelb k'un (Maya k'an) Nacht ak'u (Maya ak'ab) In solchen Worten stellt sich ein gewisser Anklang an Chontal (Nacht z. B. ak'öb) ein, da eben im Chontal ein ähnlicher Loutwandel eingesetzt hat. Zuweilen findet auch ein Lautwandel von l in r statt; so heisst « morgen » in S. Luis samar, sonst in Maya samal, ebenso der Lautwandel t in ch. z. B. Du inchech (Maya tech). Ihr

absolut nicht beweisend für die frühere Existenz der Cholsprache in der nördlichen Alta Verapaz, wenn der Pater Alonso de Escobar ([1]) ausdrücklich sagt, dass die Nachkommen der am Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts durch die Dominicaner von Chamá nach dem Stadtviertel S. Marcos (Coban) verpflanzten, unterworfenen Lacandonen zu seiner zelt, in der ersten Hälfte des 19 Jahrhunderts, unter sich noch die *Echolchi*, sprache sprachen, « which is that of the Lacandones. » Er fügt hinzu : « The division of San Tomas Apostol is as ancient as the Conquest, and was peopled with Lacandon Indians dwelling to the N. of Cohan. In like manner San Domingo de Cohan was established with Indians taken from the mountains of Chichen and Xucamel ([2]). The four divisions of San Pedro Carcha were peopled with the Indians of the immediate neighbourhood. In general the Indian communities of San Pedro and Coban still gather the produce of those tracts of coudtry which anciently belonged to their respective ancestors. »

Das Gebiet von Chamá war ursprünglich von Poconchi-Indianern bewohnt gewesen, denn aus einem in S. Cristobal Verapaz aufbewahrten Poconchi-Manuscript, dem « Titulo del Barrio de Santa Ana, » ([3]) dessen Original 1565 abgefasst worden war, aber spaeter offenbar mehrfach abgeschrieben wurde und manche Einschiebûngen erhielt, geht deutlich hervor, dass Pokonchi-Indianer von Chamá nach S. Cristobal übersie-

inches (Maya teex). Ausser den genannten gesetzmässigen Verchiedenheiten kommen aber auch andere Unterschiede gegenüber der reinen Maya vor, z. B. Kamm xeilch (Maya xalche) Stern xalab (Maya eek), Klein tzitzip (Maya chanchan), 7 vukubel (Maya vuk), wir inoon (Maya toon, Chontal Chorti noon). Aber im Ganzen genommen sind die Unterschiede so geringfugig, dass man die Sprache von S. Luis und S. Antonio lediglich als Dialekt des Maya ansehen Kann. Es ist übrigens bemerkenswert, dass die Mehrzahl der « Cholchi » redenden Bewohner von S. Luis zur Zeit meines Besuchs des Dorfes 1891 nach S. Antonio in British Honduras übergesiedelt war, wahrend das Dorf inzwischen von Kekchi-Lndianern bevölkert worden war. So rasch gehen noch heutzutage betentende Verschiebungen der Sprachgrezen vor sich !

(1) Account of the Province of Verapaz, in Guatemala, and of the Indian Settlements or Pueblos established therein Jour. R. geograph. Soc. London, Vol. XI, S. 14.

(2) Offenbar Druckfehler für Xucaneb.

(3) Veröffentlicht in den Verhandlungen des XIV. Americanistencongresses in Stuttgart, S. 3 f 3 381 und S. 384 39 f.

delten. Die Leute von San Marcos erhoben später Anspruch auf das Gebiet von Chamá, aber der Titel von Santa Ana sagt (in der übersetzung von Vicente A. Narciso) ausdrücklich, offenbar in einer Einschiebüng vom anfang des 17 Jahrhunderts: no son (los cerros y planos en Chamjah y Chichun) de los de San Marcos, porque muy lejos quedaron ellos en Chixa en Akalá, porque son de Acala los de San Marcos, donde muri onuestro señor Santo Padre Fray Domingo de Vico siendo todavia los abuelos de los Padres de los de San Marcos, que mataron y se comieron al Padre Fray Domingo de Vico los de Acalá; el Siguiente Padre Fray Alonso de Basillo trajo á los de San Marcos: primero vivieron en Yax capnal (1), salieron de alli y vivieron en seguida en Akil, salieron de alli de Akil; cuando hicieron esta salida pasaron al otro lado del rio Chamjah á ocupar nuestros cerros y nuestros planos de nosotros los de Santa Ana». Die Reclamation der Poconchi scheint erfolglos gewesen zu sein, wenn wirklich die Leute von von S. Marcos erst im 18. Jahrhundert nach Coban verpflanztworden sind; dass aber überhaupt eine Uebersiedlung von Chamá nach Codan stattgefunden hat, steht zweifellos fest, denn in Chamá besteht noch die Ueberlieferung über ein solches Ereignis und der im Stadtviertel S. Marcos heimische Familienname Chamam spricht ebenfalls entschieden dafür. Nach den Angaben des Pokonchi-Titels ist anzunehmen, dass der ursprüngliche Wohnort der Leute von S. Marcos etwa in der Gegend gegen die Salinas de los Nueve Cerros hin gewesen sein dürfte, weil Yax cabnal auf dem Weg dorthin liegt; zudem hatten die heidnischen Acalanes bei dem Ueberfalle auf das christliche Acalá-Dorf und bei der Ermordung des Fray Domingo de Vico Lacandonen als Bundesgenossen, (1) die, soweit die unklaren Angaben der älteren Schriftsteller erkennen lassen, zu beiden Seiten des Rio Chixoy und in dem Gebjet westlich davon wohnten. Die Landschaft Acalá dräfte alson in der Hauptsache zwischen dem Rio Chixoy und dem Rio de la Pasion zu suchen sein; wir wissen aber schon durch Cortez' Bericht an Kaiser Karl V., dass auch die viel weiter nördlich gelegene Gegend östlich vom Rio Usumacinta zur Landschaft Acalá gerechnet

(1) Eine noch heute bekannte Localität der nördlichen Alta Verapas.

wurde und auf letztere bezieht sich wohl die Nachricht Villagutierres, (¹) dass diese Landschaft schon in der ersten Hlfte des 16. Jahrhunderts von Yucatan aus erobert worden sei.

Nach dem Jesagten müssen wir bekennen, dass ein strikter Beweis für das Herrschen der Cholsprache unter den Lacandonen und Acalanern vorläufig nicht zu erbringen ist, obgleich die Benennung der betreffenden Idiome als Cholti und Echolchi dies sehr wahrschernlich macht. Die wenigen sicher übersetzten Ortsnamen der nördlichen Alta Verapaz sind nicht entscheidend, (²) da sie sowohl auf Chol wie auf Maya gedeutet werden können, und wenn mann beobachtet, dass nördlich vom Pocolhá-Gebirge viel seltener als südlich davon Obsidian in Form von Pfeilspitzen, Lanzenspitzen oder Messern gefunden wird, vielmehr zumeist durch deu im Peten vorkommenden Feuerstein ersetzt ist, so zeigt das ebenfalls nur, das im Norden des genannten Bergzugs Volkstämme sassen, die von Norden her gekommen sein müssen, aber ob dies nun Choles oder Mayas waren, ist daraus nicht festzustellen und aüch die brigen archaeologischen Anzeichen vermögen keine Entschei düng zu bringen.

Dass die heutigen Lacandonen (³) im Peten und östlichen Chiapas Maya reden, ist kein Beweis dafür, dass die alten Lacandonen dieselbe Sprache gesprochen hätten, den die Kenntnis der Spanier über die Lacandonen war von jeher äus-

(1) Die Lacandonen besassen einen Teil der den Erschlagenen abgenommenen Beute (Villagutierre S. 97). Ein Teil der Lacandonen und zwar die Bewohner von Topiltepeque siedelten sich hurz nach dem Ende des Kriegs in der Verapaz unter dem Schutz der Dominicaner an, andere (die von Puchutla) verhandelten daruber. (Villagutierre S. 78 f.), liessen sich aber 1564 von Fray Pedro Lorencio in Ococingo (Chiapas) ansiedeln. (Remesal, 10, 17 5640).

(2) s. a. a. O. S. 51.

(3) K. Sapper, Das nördliche Mittelamerica, Braunschweig 1897. S. 334 353. Wenn aber die Ortsnamen in dieser Hinsicht im Stich lassen, so spricht für die damalige Besiedlung der betreffenden nördlichen Gebiete durch Choles die Tatsache, dass die offenbar von Suden her-vordringenden Kekchi-Indianer für manche ihnen vorher offenbar unbekannten Tiere reine Cholbezeichnungen übernommen haben : z. B. chak mut = « roter Vogel », Hokkohuhn chak ti, « roter Münd » eine Fischart des Usumacinta-Stromgebiets. Ajau Chan = Königsschlange, eine Boaart (vgl. Nördl. Mittelamerica S. 397). Leider ist damit aber für die Frage der Mundart der Lacadnones und Acalanes nichts gewonnen, da diese Lehnworte ia von den im Nordosten wohnenden Choles gekommen sein können.

serst geringfügig, so dass ihre Stammesbezeichnung jedenfalls mehr an die Oertlichkeit, als an die ethnographischen und sprachlichen Eigentümlichkeiten der Leute angeknüpft haben dürfte. Seler [1], neigt der Ansicht zu, dass die Lacandonen des 16, und 17. Jahrunderts da aber der Wortlant der über lieferüngen für Chol spricht, so halte ich es für höchst wahrscheinlisch dass Chol ihre sprache war, obglesch ich zugebe, dass einiger zwesfel noch möglich ist, ebenfalls Maya redeten im östlichen Chiapas.

Das aber steht fest, dass im Nordosten der Altu Verapaz im 1f. Jahrhundert Choles sassen Allen Nachrichten zufolge müssen sie schon damals recht gering an Zahl gewesen sein, ebenso wie auch die Lacandones, die man so vielfach vergeblich in den ungeheuren Urwäldern des östlichen Chiapas gesucht hat. Immerhin wurde 1676 die Zahl der Choles im Norden und Osten der Verapaz noch auf über 30000 Seelen geschätzt [2]. Leider sind von den zahlreichen in den verschiedenen Geselichts werken mitgeteilten Ortsnamen nur noch sehr wenige wieder zu identificieren ; unbekannt ist auch die Grenze, die

---

(1) Die alten Ansiedlungen von Chacula I. Berlin 1901, S. 11. Ueber die Geschichte der Lacandonen im 16, und 17. Jahrhundert berichtet Seler (a. a. O. S. 5-13) ziemlich ausführlich, so dass ich selbst nicht darauf eingehe. Leider sind die einzelnen Localitäten nicht sicher festzustellen mit Ausnahme der Villa de nuestra Señora de los Dolores, deren Lage durch die Angabe der Distanz von der Lacantuneinmündung in den Usumacinta (32 Leguas) ziemlich gut bestimmt ist. Nicht allzuweit davon entfernt waren sicherlich die auf einer Insel in einem See gelegene Hauptfeste der Lacandonen, ferner die Dörfer Topiltepeque und Puchutla, sowie Mop und Peta. Die topographische und archaeologische Kenntnis der betreffenden Gegend ist aber viel zu mangelhaft, als dass diese Ortschaften localisiert werden Könnten. So viel ist sicher, das dieses Peta nicht identisch ist mit dem von mir 1894, von T. Maler 1898 später von A. Tozzer besuchten, viel weiter nördlich gelegenen See Pet Ha, in dessen Umgebung jetzt Maya redende Lacandonen wohnen.

In Tenosique, wohin am Ende des 17. Jahrhundrts eine Anzahl Lacandonen geflohen waren, wurde um die Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts noch von einigen Familien Chol gesprochen : doch ist nicht festzustellen, ob dies Nachkommen jener Fluchtlinge oder später eingewanderter Choles waren. Zur Zeit meines Besuchs (1896) wurde in Tenosique kein Chol mehr gesprochen.

(2) Villagutierre y, Sotomajor a. a. O. S. 101.

Aus dem M. S. der Historia von Ximenez scheint aber hervorzugehen, dass damit nur die nördlich vom Ysabalsee wohnenden Choles gemeint waren. Ximenes sagt nämlich : La nacion Chol en tiempo de su gentilidad estuvo poplada en todas las tierras, que hoy comprende Chiquimula de la

zwischen den Kuraten der Verapaz und von Castillo (S. Felipe am Yzabalsee) bestand; immerhin aber ist es wohrscheinlich, dass der Rio Maytol oder Factun, der diese Grenze bilden sollte, dem Sarstoon entspricht, der bei den Indianern den Namen Sactun führt (Factun wäre demnach Druckfehler für Sactun).

In dem Gebiete nordöstlich, der Verapaz haben Fray Joseph Delgado schon 1675 eine Anzahl Choles in 3 Dörfer gesammelt, (S. Lucas, El Rosario und Santiago) und im folgenden Jahr kehrten beide zu den Choles, Manchés und Axoyes vurück, « que todos vienen a ser unos, aunque de distintas parcialidades, » tauften und sammelten eine grosse Zahl in Dörfer, so dass nunmehr bereits 11 Dörfer mit 2046 Seelen chrislich waren Aber schon 1678 fielen diese Choles wieder ab und zerstörten die Dörfer (1). Im Jahr 1685 wurde der Versuch gemacht, die Choles wieder dem chrislichen Glauben zu gewinnen und und es gelang Fray Augustin Cano eine Anzahl Choles wieder in dem Dörfchen S. Lucas zu sammeln (2). Allein 1688 erhoben sich die Choles wiederum in S. Lucas, verbrannten das Dorf und kehrten in die Wälder zurück, von wo sie mit Gewalt zurcükgeholt wurden, um im Tal von Urran (Baja Verapaz, im heutigen Dorf El Chol) angesiedelt zu werden (3). Als aber un Jahre 1695 ein combinierter Angriff auf die noch nicht unterworfenen Völkerschaften des Peten und öslichen Chiapas von Chiopas, Yucatan und der Verapaz aus gemacht wuade, begleitete Fray Augustin Cano die letztere militärische Expedition unter Juan Diaz de Velasco; es wurde wieder eine grössere Anzahl Choles bekehrt (4) und der Zug nach dem Gebiet der

Sierra, Esquipulas, Cazaguastlan y todas aquellas montañas, que estan de la otra parte del Golfo y rio que se llama del Castillo, hacia la provincia de la Verapaz y mas hacia lo que se llama el Peten, pero estos fueron pocos respecto a los muchos que comprendian las tierras dichas de Chiquimula etc., de cuya nacion Chol se fundaron todos estos curatos, aunque algunos de ellos muy deteriorados el dia de hoy por los muchos indios que consumio la guerra que fue muy sangrienta. Toda esta nacion Chol componia un reino de mucha fuerza, que es el que llamaron de Copan, como lo demuestran las grandes ruinas de sus edificios que no se ven tales en todas nuestas provincias. »

(1) Villagutierre, S. 163.
(2) Villagutierre, S. 174.
(3) Villagutierre, S. 188 f.
(4) Villagutierre, S. 277 f.

benachbarten Mopanes fortgesetzt. Wir besitzen hierüber in der Nationalbibliothek von Guatemala noch den freilich nicht überall leicht lesbaren Originalbericht Canos: Die Stellen, die uns hier interessieren, sind folgende: « Pasado la provincia del Chol, que desde Cahabon tiene cuarenta y cinco leguas o cinquanta de atravesia, llegamos à otra nueva nacion que se dice de los Mopanes, donde nunca auian mirado Españoles ni ministros de el Sto Euangelio: y aunque la diversidad de la lengua fué de algun embarazo, nos (?) quizo Dios, que hallamos algunos indios Mopanes, que entendian la lengua Chol y por medio de estos logramos (?) el fin de nuestro viaje, el cual que por entonces se logró en algunos adultos, que estando en peligro pidieron el Sto bautismo y en algunos niuos enfermos, que ofrecieron sus padres y fueron al cielo por primicios de aquesta nacion. El (?) Cacique principal llamado Taxim Cham huió de nosotros... Mas pacificamos otros 4 casiques de esta nacion de Mopanes, llamados en su gentilidad el Cacique Zac, el cacique Yahcab, el cacique Zuzben y el cacique Tezecum. »

« Desde Cahabon hastala Laguna de el Ahiza ay nouenta leguas... en las quarenta y cinco leguas primeras se camina de Cahabon para el Nordeste aunque con varios bueltos: todo esto pertenece a la Provincia de el Chol que se estiende por el oriente hasta las costas de el mar y por la parte de el poniente llega hasta el poderoso rio Xocmó (Chajmayic) que parece distinto de el rio Lacandon, porque este se forma de los vertientes de las Sierras de Zacapulas y entra en la mar por la barra Tabasco y el Xocmó se forma de todos los vertientes que ay desde Cahabon hasta la Laguna de el Ahiza y entra en el mar por la Laguna de Terminos » (Man erkennt daraus, dass Cano der Zusammenfluss beider Ströme im Usumacinta unbekannt geblieben ist). « Tendra de largo esta Provincia del Chol desde el rio Xocmo hasta el mar cosa de cien leguas. »

« Las otras quarentatp cinco leguas de el Mopan a la laguna se camina de Sur a Norte, con alguna poca declinacion al norueste. Esto pertenece atlos Mopanes y Ahizaes y se estiende esta tierra por la parte de el Oriente hasta las Costas de el mar y hasta confinar con la peninsula de Yucatan... por la parte de el poniente tiene por lindero el mismo rio Xocmo que alli tiene otro nombre » (nämlich vermutlich Cancuén, wie er heute

bei den Indianern heisst, wahrend eie Ladinos ihn Rio de la Pasion nennen). « Todo el (?) camino de el Mopan á la Laguna es tierra mas tratable; pocos cerros, y no muy altos; los montaños no son tan espesos y se alternan con pinales y campos. » Man erkennt aus dieser Beschreibung deutlich, dass die Mopanes ihre Sitez in der Gegend von San Luis gehabt haben mussen und darf demnach annehmen, dass der Dialect von S. Luis und San Antonio ein Abkömmling der alten Mopanmundart ist. Ueber die Mopanes selbst sagt Cano: « Reconocimos en esta nacion muy poca sinceridad y que tenian intelligencias con los indios Ahizaes de la Laguna y aun entendimos, que todos ellos eran de una misma nacion itza llamandose Mopan Jtza, Peten Jtza, y que estos Mopanes estauan sujetos al Reyezuelo de la isla de la Laguna. » Gegenwartig erinnert der Name des Oberlaufes des Belize-Flusses (Rio Mopan) noch an diese Nation.

Im Jahre 1696 wurde abermals eine Anzahl Choles nach dem Dorfe Belen im Valle Urran übersiedelt, während weitere 85 von dem Kaplan des Castillo nach dem Dorf Amatique verpflanzt wurden (¹).

Diese Mitteilungen in Verbindung mit den offenbar auf alten Nachrichten fussenden oben angefuhrten Bemerkungen des Padre Alonso de Escobar uber die Besiedlung von Coban lassen darauf schliessen, dass *Verpflansungen von ganzen Stammesabteilungen nach anderen Ortén und in andere Umgebung eine allgemein geübte Politik der spanischen Eroberer und Missionare war* und die Ueberlieferung unter den Kekchi-Indianern spricht noch immer von solchen Transplantationem. So wurde mir in der nördlichen Verapaz der Ort Pec San Agustin mit aller Bestimmtheit als der Ort genannt, wo die spätern Bewohner von S. Agustin Lanquin früher gesessen hätten. Es scheint, dass erst in späteren Zeiten so weit gehende Zwangsübersiedelungen vorgenommen wurden, wie vom Cholgebiet ins Urrantal in der Baja Verapaz und dass in der ersten Zeit der Christianisierung es für genügend erachtet wurde, die Indianer in nähergelegenen Orten zu sammeln, wo sie denn auch rasch,

(¹) Villagutierre y Sotomajor S. 384-387.

wenigstens äusserlich, das Christentum annahmen, während im Geheimen das Heidentum fortglimmte und bei Reisen in die Urwaldgebiete auch den heidnischen Göttern wieder die alten Opfer dargebracht wurden, wie Fray Francisco Gallegos und Fray Joseph Delgado 1675 bei ihrer Missionsreise nach dem Cholgebiet feststellen konnten (1). Und selbst wenn man den Ueberlieferungen und geschichtlichen Nachrichten nicht Glauben schenken wollte, so würde das gelegentliche Auftreten von Familiennamen, die als Chol- oder Lacandonnamen beglaubigt sind auf eine Einwanderung von Norden hindeuten (2). Ausserdem ist in manchen indianischen Besitztiteln der Alta Verapaz noch ausdrücklich die Einwanderung von Lacandonen bezeugt, so in einem in S. Pedro Carcha aufbewahrten Titel von 1539 (?), dessen Copie mir vorliegt. Die in dem vermuthlich dicht von Kekchi-Indianern besiedelten Hochland der Alta Verapaz (besonders in Coban) angesiedelten Lacandones und

(1) Ebenda, S. 153. Die Kekchi Indianer verehren im Urwaldgebiet auch jetzt noch in genau gleicher Weise ihren heidnischen Tzultacca neben dem christlichen Gott. Vgl. Sapper, Das nördl. Mittelamerica S. 267 ff.

(2) Als solche Familiennamen wären zu nennen : Cucul « Dach » (Villagutierre S. 175) und Cabnal (ebenda, S. 300).

Die Mehrzahl der indianischen Familiennamen der Alta Verapaz ist ubrigens, soweit ersichtlich, Kekchi : Grossenteils sind es Tier und Pflanzennamen oder sind sie tierischen und pflanzlichen Gegenständen entnommen, z. B. Chub = Wespe, Chen = Mosquito, Hor = eine Mückenart, Tzi = Hund, Mo = roter Papagei (Ara), Pap = eine Vogelart, Choj desgleichen, Coc = Schildkröte, Ba = Taltusa (Geomys hispidus), Cuc = Eichhörnchen, Chocoj = Schmetterlingsart, K'ak = Floh Pou = wilder Pfau Bac = Knochen u. a., sowie Che = Baum, Quix = Dorn, May = Tabak, Oo = Aguacate (Persea gratissima), Tul = Banane, Cacao = Cacao, Fc = Chile (Capsicum annaum), Ixim = Mais, Xe = Wurzel, Ax = ein grossblättriges Unkraut, Koy, Siguic = andere Pflanzenarten, K'aal = Baumart, Ical, Yixcal, Yaxcal = Maisfeld, Guim = Gras, Stroh ; auch kommen Farbenbezeichnungen in den Familiennamen vor (Rax = Grün, Can = Gelb) oder Naturobjecte (Tzul = Berg, Pec = Stein Ku = Tropfstein, Macs = Talpetate, ein weiches Gestein) oder auch bearbeitete Objecte (Cus = Kugel, Pop = Matte, Xol = Flöte, Tun = Holzpanke, Teponastle).

Solche Familiennamen sind seit der Conquista offenbar allgemein eingeführt. In Chamá aber, wohin als nach ihren angestammten Wohnort neuerdings ziemlich viele Leute des Barrio S. Marcos von Coban ausgewandert sind, besteht der Gebrauch, dass ein Mann nach dem Gegenstand oder Ereignis, das ihm beim ersten Ausgang nach der Brautnacht auffällig entgegentritt, einen Uebernamen bekommt, der von nun ab unter seinen Stammesgenossen allein gebraucht wird. Ich liess mir bei meinem Aufenthalt in Chama (1891) eine Liste der dortigen Indianer-Namen und-Uebernamen geben und führe daraus einige Beispiele an.

Acalanes gaben nicht nur ihre Sprache zu gunsten der herrschenden Kekchi, sondern auch ihre ethnologische Eigenart allmählich auf- ein Process, der aber in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts, wie Alonso de Escobar bezeugt, noch nicht vollendet war. In dem vermuthlich nur dünn von Kekchi- Indianern besiedelten Tiefland von Lanquin und Cahabon aber haben, wie mir scheint, die dorthin verpflanzten Choles zwar ihre Sprache, aber nicht ihre ethnologische Eigenart gänzlich aufgegeben und deshalb ist mir schon frühzeitig beim Durchwandern jener Gebiete aufgefallen, dass hier neben und zwischen den Kekchi-Indianern Leute eines andern Volkes wohnen, die zwar ebenfalls Kekchi reden, aber in somatischer Hinsicht ebenso, wie in ethnologischen Eigentümlichkeiten sehr staek davon abweichen (1).

Offizielle Namen	*Uebernamen*
José Chamam	Aj uch = Beutelrattenjäger
Manuel Pou	Pok = vulkanischer Sand
Domingo Pop	Chim = Falle
Domingo Pou	Cap = Haus
Manuel Caal	Sis = Pisote, Rüsselbär
Kalem Yat	Cha = Asche
Juan Chamam	Marimb = Marimba (Holzklavier)
Tomas Chamam	Tu = Weibliche Brust
Manuel Pop	Camenak = Leichnam
Domingo Caal	Sac-i-cyuink = Weisser Mann
Juan Pop	Cuc = Eichhörnchen
Miguel Sel	Tap = Krabbe
Jose Chamam	K'ot = Faeces
Domingo Yat	Ki = Süssigkeit
Pedro Yat	Chaquicar = Trockener Fisch
Luis Yat	ma iun hil = « Nicht einmal eine

Rast weit : (die Kekchi Indianer haben in bestimmten Zwischenräumen des Wegs Rastplätze : hil bei der Betreffende hatte aber ; seinem ersten Ausgang nach der Hochzeit schon vor dem Erreichen eines Rastplatzes ausgeruht).

(Anmerkung 1) siehe nächste Seite 20.

Ich schloss daraus, dass es sich um einen Volksstamm handle,

(1) Sapper, « Die Alta Verapaz und ihre Bewohner », Ausland 1891. Nro. 51 u. 52. Ferner : Petermanns Mitteilungen 1893. S. 7 f., Ebenda 1895 S. 180 f. Die Alta Verapaz. Hamburg 1902.

der durch irgendwelchen gesellschaftlichen Zwang zur Aufgabe seiner Muttersprache genötigt geweisen sei. Diesen gesellschatlichen Zwang glaube ich nun in der zwangsweisen Verpflanzung von Choles in ihre jetzigen Wohnsitze gefunden zu haben.

Ich wiederhole hier kurz die wichtigsfen Unterschiede, die zwischen echten Kekchi-Indtanern einerseits, Lanquineros und Cahaboneros andererseits bestehen. Eine geringe dialectische Sprachverschiedenheit ist unwesentlich; stärker fällt die langsame und singende Sprachweise der Cahaboneros und Lanquineros auf, ebenso der verschiedene somatische Habitus, Kleidund und Frisur; doch soll auch hierauf nicht eingegangen werden, da dergleichen Unterschiede auch sonst zwischen Bewohnern verschiedener Dörfer und Landschaften häufig auftreten. Wichtiger ist, dass z. B. in Chaal und Cahabon verschiedene Obrigkeiten für die echten Kekchi-Indianer und die Cahaboneros bestehen; ausserdem ist die Hausbauweise und die Bestattungsweise stark verschieden, desgleichen mancherlei Speisegewohnheiten: so pflegen die Leute von Cahabon, Lanquin und Chisec das Fleisch gewisser Schlangen, so Otooi und Ahauchan, zu essen, während die echten Kekchi-Indianer derartige gerichte verabscheuen.

Hatte ich schon von Anfang an vermutet, dass die Gahaboneros und Lanquineros Reste von Choles seien, so wurde mir die Vermutung zur subjectiven Gewissheit, als im weitent fernten Tabasco beim Betreten des ersten Choldorfs (Jicotencal) meine Lekchi-Träger mit einem Ausruf des Erstaunen stehen blieben und ohne eine Ahnung von der mich beschäftigenden Frage zu haben, erklärten, die Weiber dieses Dorfes sähen genan so aus wie die von Lanquin. In der Tat ist nicht nur der somatische Habitus gleichartig, sondern auch die Frauentracht, ferner ein Webemuster der Männerkleider, Hausbau und Töpferwaren, während die Frauenfrisur zwar manche Aehnlichkeit, aber auch manche Unterschiede aufweist und durch den Besitz eines breiten Haarbüschels vor den Ohren (laubk im Kekchi genannt) mehr an die Frisur der Chorti-Indianer erinnert.

Gleich den Lanquineros und Cahaboneros haben auch die Leute von Chisec gewisse Eigentümlichkeiten, die darauf hindenten, dass sie nicht echte Kekchi-Indianer sind, sondern ein assimiliertes Volkselement (wohl ebenfalls von Cholabkunft).



Dagegen erinnert in dem Dorf El Chol im Urrantal nichts ausser dem Namen mehr an die Herkunft ihrer Bewohner; es gibt dart auch keine Indianer mehr, sondern nur noch Mischlinge (Ladinos).

Zieht man das Fazit aus den oben mitgeteilten Ueberlegungen, so ergiebt sich, dass völlige Klarheit über die schwebenden Fragen nicht zu erreichen ist, *dass aber wahrscheinlich die Lacandonen und Acalanen des* 16. ú. 17. *Jahrhunderts Chol sprachen*, dass also für jene Zeit Stolls kartographische Darstellung des Ausbreitung der Cholsprache richtig ist. *Als letite Reste der Cholbevölkerung von Nord- und Ostguatemala wären die Lanquineros, Cahaboneros und Chisequenos iu betrachten, whrend die Choles von Britisch Honduras völlig ausgestorben sind. Ebenso dürften die Chol redenden Lacandonen des östlichen Chiapas ausgestorben sein und an ihre Stelle vom Peten aus Mayas eingewandert sein, auf die nun der mehr an dem Ort als an dem Volk haftende Name Lacandonen übertragen worden wäre.* Derselbe ist unter den Lacandonen selbst nicht bekannt, vielmehr nennen sie sich, ebenso ude die Mayas, maséwal und unterscheiden die einselnen gentes mit besonderen tierschen Totemnamen (1).

Die Zahl der Chisequeños, Lanquineros und Cahaboneros mag etwa 10000 Seelen betragen, die der Choles und der Chorties je etwa 20000, so dass also des Gesammtvolk in seinen verschiedenen Abzweigungen gegenwärtig etwa 50000 Kopfe zählen dürfte. Sie alle fübren ein zurückgezogenes bescheidenes Leben und fristen ihren Lebensunterhalt hauptsächlich von Landwirtschaft. Ihnen allen ist ein hohes Mass von Freiheitsgefühl eigen, so dass nur verhältnissmässig wenige sioh freiwillig zur Arbeit auf den Plantagen von Weissen oder Mischlingen verdigen, Die Folge davon ist, dass in Chiapas, wo keinerlei Druck auf die Indianer ausgeübt wird Arbeit zu leisten, innerhalb des Verbreitungsgebietes der Choles meist Tzental-Indianer die Plantagenarbeit verrichten, während die Choles vorziehen, das

(1) A. M. Tozzer, A comparative study of the Mayas and the Lacandones. (Archæological Institute of America) New York 1907 S. 3. und 40 ff.

Wenige, was sie für Kleidung und Nahrung benötigen, durch ihre Tätigkeit auf eigenem Grund und Boden zu erwerben.

Über die Sitten und Gebräuche der Choles und Chorties ist leider fast nichts bekannt und auch über die Lebensgewohnheiten und ethnologischen Eigentümlichkeiten der Lanquineros und Cahaboneros ist ausser meinen schon oben erwähnten spärlichen Mitteilungen noch nicht viel veröffentlicht worden. Mögen sich in Bälde Forscher finden, die sich der dankbaren aber mühseligen Aufgabe unterziehen, zu sammeln und zu beobachten, was an originaler materieller und geistiger Kultur noch bei diesen Völkern vorhanden ist ! Es ist kein Zweifel darüber, dass trotz ihrer Abgeschlossenheit ihre Eigenart mehr und mehr dahinschwindet und daher spater nur noch spärliche Ergebnisse zu erwarten sein würden !

Nachwort

Die im Text oder in gebräuchlichen Geschichtswerken erwähnten Stammes- und Ortsnamen sind auf einer Kartenskizze eingetragen ; wo die Position sehr unsicher ist, ist dies durch eine beigesetztes Fragezeichen besonders hervorgehoben.

Zur Veranschaulichung der grossen Aehnlichkeit zwischen dem Chol von Chiapas und Tabasco und dem Chorti von Ostguatemala füge ich ein Wörterverzeichnis bei, in dem ausser Chol und Chorti auch der Pocomamdialect von Jilotepeque berücksichtigt ist, na man bischer nach Stephens kleinem Vocabular diesen Dialect mit dem Chorti identifiziert hat. Das sprachliche Material stammt von meinen eigenen Aufnahmen, die ich fürs Chol in Tila und in Alianza bei Tumbala, für Chorti in Hacienda Grande (Depto Copan, Honduras), sowie in El Obraje, Jocotan und Quezaltepeque (Depto Chiquimula, Guatemala), fürs Pocomam in S. Luis Jilotepeque gemacht habe, Leider besteht es grossenteils nur aus Vocabularien, da die betreffenden Indianer zumeist des Spanischen nur sehr wenig mächtig waren und auch der Intelligenz entbehrten, um auf meine Intentionen während der kurzen Zeit meiner Anwesenheit schon richtig zu reagieren. Immerhin vermochte ich im Chorti und Pocomamgebiet auch einige Conjugationen aufzunehmen, wovon ebenfalls einige Proben mitgeteilt werden sollen. Das in der Nationalbibliothek von Guatemala vorhandene Cholvocabular von

Juan Josef de la Fuente Albores, Tila, 20. Jan. 1789 habe ich leider nicht copiert, habe es also nicht mit benutzen können, ebenso wenig wie das schon oben erwähnte Cholti-Vocabular des Fray Francisco Moran vom Jahre 1695.

VOCABULAR IN CHORTI, CHOL UND POCOMAM VON JILOTEPEQUE

Vorbemerkung. Die Orthographie ist die spanische mit den von Stoll (Ethnographie S. 39 ff) vorgeshlagenen Modificationen, X lautet von das deutsche sch. Der Ton ruht immer auf der letzten Silbe.

Durch Initialen ist der Ort der Aufnahme angedeutet:

für Chorti H - Hacienda Grande, O El Obraje, Q Quezaltepeque, J Jocotan; für Chol T - Tila, A Alianaz Puyjip bei Tumbala.

	CHORTI	CHOL	POCOMAM VON JILOTEPEQUE
Mann	vuinik H Q	vuinik A T	mas
Weib	ixik H Q	ixik A T	ixok
Gatte	noxib O Q J	nojxial A	?
Gattin	ixcar O Q J	yijnam Aijnab T	?
Vater	tat H Q	tyat A tyabá T	tat
Mutter	tu H Q	nya A habanya T	tut
Sohn (vom Vater genannt)	onen H Q J O		
Sohn (von der Mutter genannt)	ar H Q J O	halobil A yalobil	ac'un

	CHORTI	CHOL	POCOMAM VON JILOTEPEQUE
Tochter	ix chok	ix chok A	pi'usun
alterer Bruder	sac'un H itjan Q J O	öscun A	as
jüngerer Bruder	ijtz'in H Q J O	ijtz'in A	cha'k
ältere Schwester	sacun H Q J sacum O	chich A	as
jüngere Schwester	ijtz'in H J kumix O	ijtz'in A	cha'k
Schwiegersohn	nier H O J niar Q	nijal A	ji
Schwiegertochter	arib H O J Q	nijal A	ilim
Schwager	jan Q	an A jaan T	bakuc
Schwägerin	nu H jan Q	mu A T	ixnap
Schwiegervater	pixam H O Q	nijal A	churukijal
Schwiegermutter	pixam H O Q J	nijal A	tirukija
Onke	mamá H Q J O	ichan A yichan T	ican
Tante	kojná H Q J	siin A ichac T	(tu r) i'can
Grossvater	tatá viejo H O J tatá Señor Q	inojtiel A nyá T	mam, mama
Grossmutter	tuilamá H O Q	inojtiel A nyá T	titu
Leib, Körper	k'erar J Q erar O	puchelá A	nimal
Knochen	baker O bak J	bak A bökal T	vuak
Fleisch	vuer H O J Q	bökyal A böktyar T	ch'ak

	CHORTI	CHOL	POCOMAM VON JILOTEPEQUE
Blut	ch'icher Q O ch'ich J H	ch'ich A ch'ichar T	qu'ic
Haar	tzutzer H O Q J	tzutzel A tzutze T	runá, nahis
Kopf	Jor Q O J or H	kol A jol T	jalom
Stirn	lax H	pain A bam T	vuach
Auge	na'ut O nak (ni) ut H Q	ut A vut T	na'kach
Augenbrauen	majtz'o H	mötz ab A muytzab T	....
Ohr	chiquin H O J Q̃	chiquin A T	xiquin
Nase	ni H O Q J	ni T A	jo
Mund	ti H O Q J	ti T A	chi, cvuaré
Zunge	a'k H O Q J	k'an T a'k A	a'k
Schneidezahn	é H Q O I	zé T é A	é
Backenzahn	ch'am H Q	ch'aam A uché T	ka
Bart	tzucti H Q O J	tzucti T A	sinchi
Hals	nuk	bic T A	alak
Nacken	nuk H Q J tzunuk O	te bic T A	alak
Arm	k'ap H Q J ab O	k'öb A k'üp T	k'am
Ellbogen	usu (ni) k'ab H Q amas J	kuj k'ub T xu k'öb A	
Finger	uni (ni) k'abch Q		tz'ic

	Chorti	Chol	Pocomam von Jilotepeque
Nagel	uni (ni) k'ab O om k'ab J	u k'üp T yalol aj k'öb A	rek'un (ru) k'am
Brust, weibl.	ejchak H Q̰ O J	ejchak T A	ix c'ak
Bauch	chu H Q̰ O J	chu A	ch'uch
Nabel	nak H Q̰ O J	ni äk A nük T	pam
Herz	mok H Q̰ muk O J	. . . .	itzum
Gedärme	. . . .	pusical A	. . . .
Bein	sajiomba O	soytia A	acun (ru) sa
Knie	a H J okob Q̰ O	ya A T	(nim ru) tuk
Fuss	pix Q̰ O J	pix T pökilja A	na chejk
Schweiss	ok H Q̰ J okob O	yok T tzeniek A	(perepi ru) tuk
Urin	purich H Q̰ J O	pulich A	vaux
Flügel	apich H Q̰ O J	. . . . . .	am
Feder	vuich H Q̰ O J	vuich A	xic
Schwanz	tzutzer H Q̰ O J	. . . . . .	ij
Ei	ne H Q̰ O J	. . . . . .	jer
	k'um H Q̰ O J	tyumut A	
Nest	sijk H Q̰ O J	chentyun T	maloj
Dorf	chinam H O Q̰ J	k'u A	päichicob
Haus	otot H O Q̰ J	tum T tejclum A	tenamit
		otot T otyot A	pat

	CHORTI	CHOL	POCOMAM VON JILOTEPEQUE
Pfeiler	oy H O J	oy A T	ch'it
Wand	unayotot H sarum J	sacti T	k'e
Türe	. . . . . .	baje	. . . . . .
Dach	oporsikap H	picti T cucul A	. . . . . .
Sparren	quiri O	. . . . . .	. . . . . .
Dachdeckmaterial (Ströh, Blätter)	xan O	chahan T jam A	. . . . . .
Bett	ch'akté H Q O J	ch'ak A	ch'at
Hängematte	ap O J	ap T A	. . . . . .
Weg	bir H O Q J	bij A	vué
Matte	pop H O pejt J	pop T pojp A	pojp
Stuhl	. . . . . .	buchlip A	. . . . . .
Wasserkrug	pur H Q O pujr J	pucun T uk kum A	xut
Kochtopf	pet H pejt J	pejt T A	xum
Huacal (Trinkgefäss Rugelig	luch H O Q ruch J	. . . . . .	jo
Jicara (Trinkgefäss tzimá	ch'ip luch H	tzimaj T A	uc'al
. . . . .			
Schale aus Flaschenkürbis	bucul H o O	bucul T po'k A	. . . . . .

	Chorti	Chol	Pocomam von Jilotepeque
Flaschenkürbis	tisimurul H murr O. J	bux A cuayá T	suj
Korb	chiqui H O Q J	chiquiss	chiquivit
Mecapal (Stirnband zum Lastragen)	tap O tap e vuel J evuer H	tyajpül T chaan A	ek'ol
Blasrohr	musik (?) O	hotzamuy A	tranchuy
Bogen	ch'antin H	halujb A	. . . . . .
Pfeil	chantin	sek T ansi k'öb A	ch'am
Mahlstein	ch'a H O J	atyun A natyun T	quevual ('c'a')
Handwalze	k'ap ch'a H	k'öbtyun A	k'am c'a
Gebrannter Kalk	. . . .	tyan A T	. . . . . .
Hut	pitor H Q O J	pixol A T	panes, panis
Sandalen	xanab H Q O J	caclip T	xijam
Kamm	xiab	xiyop A xiyüpül T	xijvual
Beinkleider	vuex H O Q J	vuex cveux A	vuex
Weiberrock	pic H O Q J	maj tzöl	uk
Huipil (Weiberhemb)	inirek J	bujk A	. . . . . .
Schambinde	. . . .	kajdul A	. . . . . .
'uch	payuj O J Q	caxilöl A cajchilul T	pavub
Halskette	nuk H	ujul T ujöl A	. . . . . .
Agavefaser	. . . .	chij A chi T	sajki
Tragnetz	chirx H chijl Q		

	CHORTI	CHOL	POCOMAM VON JILOTEPEQUE
Hölzernes Traggestell	tzupom O J	chim T chin A	yal
Trog, Boot	corolte H	pötya A quiob T	chacach
Fischernetz	....	jucub A	......
Trommel	....	chimo chöi A	......
Flöte, Pfeife	....	lajti T lajté A	......
Tänzer	....	hulul T amöi A	......
Feuer	....	son A	......
Holz	k'ak H J a'k O k'ake Q	k'ak A T	k'a'k
Rauch	si H Q O J	si T A	si
Kohle	butz H Q O J	butz T A	tz'im
Asche	akrar H Q J ut O	ahak T nich kajk A	ak'ut
Geld	taan H Q O J	tyaan A	sachaj
Gewehr	......	ek T	......
Honig	......	ulonib A	......
Wachs	chab H Q O J	chab A	......
Röstteller	......	tyachöb A	......
Feuerfächer	semet H	semet A T	......
Schlinggewächs, Liane	cvuajre k'ak H	cvuejlöj ip k'ak A	......
Kleider	......	ac A	caham
Wasser	......	pisil A	......
	ja H Q J ha O	ha A T	ja

	CHORTI	CHOL	POCOMAM VON JILOTEPEQUE
Salz	atz'am H Q J O	atz'am A T	atz'am
Tortilla (Maiskuchen	pa H Q J O	vua T A	vuivic
Totoposte (gedörrte Maiskuchen)	. . . . . .	siepam T uoch A	jox
Nistamal (Maisteig)	utum O J	. . . . . .	. . . . . .
Posol, Atole (Maisgetränke)	sa H Q O J	sa A T (ul Atole T)	jormatz
Junger Mais (Elote)	ahan O J	uajtyan A tyan T	ajb
Frijoles (Bohnenkerne)	buur H Q J O	buul T A	quina'k
Besen	mesyup H	mesuhip A mesvip T	mesal
Pinol (geröstetes Maismehl)	ch'aj O J	ch'aj T chilim A	c'aj
Stock	. . . . . .	tye A ti T	. . . . . .
Mais	ixim H Q O J	ixim T A	ixim
Maiskolben	nar H Q O J	tzijt A	hal
Tusa (Maishülblatt)	xex O J H	chix T homoch A	tilum
Olote	hacar O Q H J	böcöl A jach T	. . . . . .
Maisfeld	jiná H Q hiná O J	cholel A	avix
Chile (Capsicum annuum)	ich O J H	ich A T	ic

	CHORTI	CHOL	POCOMAM VON JILOTEPEQUE
Yuca Manihotu utilissima)	tz'inté H O J	tz'in A juc T	tz'in
Camote	is O J H	ajc'um A T	is
Tomate	pe'ch H pai'ch O J	coyá T A	pex
Cacao	cacao	cucuö A cocou T	......
Pataxte (Theobroma bicolor)	......	bajluntyé A balanti T	.....
Chayote	......	chijchu T chijchum A	......
Achiote	quivui O J H	hoox T A	kuxum
Aguecate	un H Q	coyol A	oj
Ananas	......	pach T pojch A	......
Zapote	......	uaya has T cvua-i jaas A	telul
Ayote	ch'uum O J H	chimin T	k'uum
Anona	tzurmuy H O J	cutzatz T k'otzatz-boom A	......
Guayava	......	poyte T pötza A	.....
Güisquil	chivuan	......	......
Zuczerrohr	sikap H	sikap T siköp A	ijij
Nispero	......	chité A	......
Baumwolle	tinam	tinyam H tinyüm T	noak
Agave	succhij H J succhijl		

	Chorti	Chol	Pocomam von Jilotepeque
	Q succhi O	chij A T	sajki
Tabak	k'utz J H Q utz O	k'ujtz T A	mai
Baum	té H Q O J	kyé (?) T tyé A	chè
Blatt	yopor H Q O J	yopom T A	xak
Zweig	(u) k'ab e tè H Q J	k'anax tyé T	k'am
Blüte	nichir H	nichtyé A	piché
Dorn	qu'iix H Q O J	ch'ix T A	qu'ix
Wurzel	vuir H O J	chac T vitjé A	(risbal nyo)
Banane (Platane)	jass H O J Q	haas T jaas A	pułak
Kiefer	taté H ta Q taj te J taj Q	tyaj T A	chaj
Gras	ac O J	haam A hamp T	......
Caoba (Magahoni)	......	sutzujl A	......
Ceder	......	chuj tyé A	......
Liquidambar	......	sutzté A	......
Farnbaum		s tzijb A	......
Unkraut, Buschwald	k'opot J opot O	tiel A matial T	......
Hochwald	......	nojtiel A matial matial T	
Sabane	chiá O xaj J	jamil A yatipitz A	chè
Kautschukbaum	......	ch'ich A T	tzac'al

	CHORTI	CHOL	POCOMAM VON JILOTEPEQUE
Indigo	......	chajuc T	
Blauholz	......	chicté T tintyajtyé (z. T. spanisch) A	......
Copalharz	......	chajan T	
Pimiento	......	ichtiol A	......
Schwein	chitam H Q J O	chityam A T	ak
Hund	tz'i H Q J O	tzi A T	tz'i
Katze	mis H Q J O	mis A T	mis
Hase	tur J	ujchip A	emul
Hahn	......	chityomut A	ac'ach
Henne	ac'ach H J tu ach O	a mut A mut T	tut ac'ach
Vogel	mut O J Q H	chijchip A acxi T	chicob
Truthalm	......	ajtzo A	......
Zopilote (Aasgeier)	usij H Q J O	usijl A tyahol T	c'uch
Reh	masa H Q J O atzekisch)	me A T	quej
Wildschwein	k'octar chitam J ehitam H	mate chityam A matichtyam T	panchamal ak
Jabali	......	hoyom A halau T	......
Tapir	......	tzinú A T	......
Taltusa	pa H	ba A T	cvuá

	Chorti	Chol	Pocomam von Jilotepeque
Cotusa	chujbub J chujba O chupub H chuk'ub Q	......	......
Jaguar	bajram J	bajlum T A	tiyan
Cuguar	bajaam O	chöc balum A	cojl
Gürteltier	......	ip	......
Rüsselbär (Pisote)	patz'utz H O J	......	itz'ul
Eichhorn	chuch H O J	chuch A T	cuc
Coyote	bojb H O J	k'am bolay T	xojb
Affe	.....	max A T	c'oy
Arull-Affe	......	batz T	......
Maus	ch'ok H O Q J	tzuc A	ch'o
Fledermaus	su'tz H O J	su'tz A	so'tz
Lagarto (Alligator)	ain J	ajin A ahin T	nijin
Schlange	chan O J H	bucum T lucum A	maak
Schildkröte	......	ajc A T	......
Fisch	chai H Q J O	chöi A chuy T	car
Krebs	hopop O J	mep T A	ch'om
Krabbe	tziktzik O J	xex T xun A	tap
Skorpion	sinam H Q O J	tzinay T sinian A	sinaj
Schmetterling	pejpem H Q J	pejtem T A	sam
Ameise	xinich H Q J O	xinich T A	sinic

	CHORTI	CHOL	POCOMAM VON JILOTEPEQUE
Süsswasserschnecken	choch O J	puy T A	pur
Muscheln	peremech H	bejmech T hujch A	loch
Cucaracha	......	pehua T maco A	taltapach
Müske	us H Q O J	us T A	utz
Musquito.	uchá H Q O J	uch ha T A	uchá
Spinne	am H Q O J	am A	am
Zecke	sip Q O J	sip T A	siip
Floh	ch'ac H Q O J	ch'üc T ch'öc A	ca'k
Sandfloh	ochem ch'ac H ch'ac O J	ch'uc T ch'öc A	c'ak
Laus	uch O	uch T A	uc
Gusano (Made)	upip H Q upi O J	motzo A	sahú
Quetzal	......	x man k'uk A	......
Hokkohuhn	... chac mut A	chac mut A	......
Wespe	yair O yarkir J	xux A	colax
Erde	luum H O ruum Q ejrum J	luum A T	ac'al
Stein	tun H Q C J	tun T tyun A	avuaj
Sand	hi H O O J	hi T ji A	sanim
Schmutz	anam H Q O J	ok'om T ok'ọl A	chuvuá
Berg	vuitzir H Q O chen J	uitz T A	yuk

	CHORTI	CHOL	POCOMAM VON JILOTEPEQUE
Ebene	. . . . . .	hoktil T oktyil A	quixcam
Meer, See	. . . . . .	aban T ajp A	. . . . . .
Fluss	noja H O Q k'o J	ha T nojha A	ja
Hohle	. . . . . .	chintyum T ch'en A	. . . . . .
Weg	bir H O Q J	bı T bij A	vué
Brücke	. . . . . .	cajtu T	. . . . . .
Silber	tumin H O Q J	tyakin A	puak
Eisen	takin H Q tain O J	tzucu tyakin A	chi'ch
Feuerstein	. . . . . .	tyok A	. . . . . .
Staub	. . . . . .	tzubé A	. . . . . .
Kalkstein	. . . . . .	secvuaj tyun A	. . . . . .
Himmel	utk'in H Q tuting O	panchan A T	cvuataxaj
Wolke, Nebel	tocar H Q O J	tyocal A T	su'tz
Wind	i'kar H Q J iar O	i'c A T	teau
Sonne	k'in H Q J ing O	k'in A T	k'ij
Mond	reuj Q	uj A u T	po
Vollmond	. . . . . .	posel uj A	. . . . . .
Neumond	. . . . . .	xchemi uj A	. . . . . .
Stern	. . . . . .	ec A	chimil
Sternschnuppe	. . . . . .	tya ec A	. . . . . .
Regen	jaja J chirja O	vue ja al A haal T	jab

	CHORTI	CHOL	POCOMAM VON JILOTEPEQUE
Nebelreissen	......	musmus haal A	......
Erdbeben	yucbar O J H Q̰	vo tin yar pa ni nil A (?)	qu'ic
Donner	acricvua O acrijna J ripual H	......	jelenlan
Blitz	ijpi H Q̰ ejpi J ajnan ing O	chajk A	caipa
Regenbogen	......	toxá	......
Hagel	pat H	tyunija A	......
Tag	......	pejk'in A T	tzakic
Nacht	acbap H O J	acölel A piquix T	chakam
Morgens	acbarera O	sö cajel A sequix T	......
Abends	ora maxani O	ochajök'in A hiquix T	......
Mittag	oraj ing O oraj k'ing J	xin k'in il A T	tik li k'ij
Mitternacht	......	vojli acölel A vuachajkin T	tik li k'am
Schatten	......	ajxnial A axnal T	......
Jahr	......	hab A T	jam
Regenzeit	kaxeja Q̰	haclel A	......
Monat	.. ...	uj A pe u T	po

	CHORTI	CHOL	POCOMAM VON JILOTEPEQUE
Kälte	. . .	senval A tzuan T	. . . . . .
Wärme	. . . . . .	antical A licvual T	. . . . . .
Heute	Koner H Q sajmi O J	petj T vule A	. . . . . .
Morgen	eikar J H Q ejar O	suk'an T ij köl A	. . . . . .
Uebermorgen	chabil H chabij J	chabi T A	. . . . . .
in 3 Tagen	uxil H uxij J	uxi T A	. . . . . .
in 4 Tagen	. . . . . .	chanbej k'in T A	. . . . . .
Gestern	acbi O Jac vu H	abki T A	. . . . . .
Vergestern	chabi H O	chubhi T chubiji A	. . . . . .
Vor 3 Tagen	uxi	uxejki T ani x uxpej k'in A	. . . . . .
Vor 4 Tagen	"	chanbej k'in T	. . . . . .
Vor 5 Tagen	"	hobej k'in	. . . . . .
Zahlwörter 1	inte J O	jun (tiqui') T jun (bel) A	. . . . . .
2	chate J O	cha (tquil) T chab (bel) A	jenaj
3	uxte J uxti O	ox (tquil) T ux (bel)	queem
4	chante J O	chin (tquil) T chön (bel) A	ixim
5	. . . . . .	ho (tquil) T hoob	quejem

		CHORTI	CHOL	POCOMAM VON JILOTEPEQUE
			(bel) A	hoom
	6	......	vuu (tquil) T vuök	
			(bel) A	viakin
	7	......	vuutb (tquil) T vuuk	
			(bel) A	vuukum
	8	......	vuaxat (tquil) T vuajxok	
			(bel) A	vuakxakim
Zahlwörter	9		bolon (tquil) T bolon	
	10		(bel) A	
			doen (tiquil) T lujum	
	11		(bel) A	
	12		najchen (tiquil) T bujluch	
			(bel) A	
	13		lajchom (bel) A	
			13 uxlujum (bel) A	
			14 chonlujum (bel) A	
			15 hoolujum (bel) A	
			16 vuoklujum (bel) A	
			17 vuuklujum (bel) A	
			18 vuajxoklujum (bel) A	
			19 bolonlujum (bel) A	

CHOL

20 jun cal A
21 junbel i nume ti jun cal A
22 chabel i nume ti jun cal A
30 lujumbel i cha cal A
40 cha cal A
50 lujumbel i ux cal A
60 uxcal A
70 lujumtzij ti choncal A
80 choncal A
90 lujum tzij ti hoo cal A
100 hoo cal A
120 vuök cal
140 vuuk cal
160 vuajxök cal
180 boloncal
200 lujum cal
220 bujluch
240 lajchön cal
260 uxlujum cal, etc.

30—ii

	CHORTI	CHOL	POCOMAM VON JILOTEPEQUE
		300 hoo lujum cal	
		400 jun bac	
		500 hoo cal i cha bac	
		800 cha bac	
		1000 lujum cal i ux bac	
		1200 ux bac	
		2600 chõnbac	
		2000 hoobac	
		4000 lujumbac	
		8000 jun cal ti bac	
		16000 cha cal ti bac	
ich	nen O		hen
Du	net O		het
er	haxir O		re
wir	non O		koj
Ihr	nox O		heta
sie	haxirub		retaquè
mein	ni vor Consonanten	nivu. . . vor Vocalen	
Dein	a-	vu. . .	
sein	u-	uy. . .	
unser	ka-	kavu. . .	

	CHORTI		POCOMAM VON JILOTEPEQUE
Euer	i-	y . . .	
ihr	u . . . (ob)	uy . . . (ob)	
ja	huhu O		
nein	maachi O		

CONJUGATIONSBEISPIELE IM CHORTI, OBRAJE

Præsens	*Prætiritum*	*Præsens*	*Prætiritum*	*Futurum*
ich gehe in xin	ich ging vixien	ich komme yopenix	ich kam yopen	ich werde kommen
Du gehst i xin	Du gingst vixiet	Du kommst yopetix	yopet	ompa
er geht a xin	etc. vixin	yopix	yopa	ixiopa
wir gehen ka xin	vixion	poponix	yopon	axaupa
Ihr geht ix ji xin	vixiox	yopoxix	yopox	kaupa
sie gehen a xiob	vixiob	yopovix	yopob	ixiopa
				axaupob

Præsens	*Prætiritum*	*Futurum*	*Imperativ*
ich schlafe incvuapan	ich senlief cvuayana-nix	ich werde auincvua-yan schlafe	schlafe icvuayan
icvuayan	acvuayanetix	ixicvuayan	

avuayan	c'vuayan	achecvuayan	
kacvnayan	cvuayanonix	anicavuayan	
iciicvuayan	cvuayanonix	ixixinevuayan	
aevuayan	cvuayanob	axicvuayanob	
Praesens	*Præteritum*	*Futurum*	*Imperativ*
ich wasche impojtyi	ich wärmte in bajnix	iche werde auin ijnes	
apojtyi	abajnix	wärmen ijnes (?)	wärme ijnes
upojtyi	ubajnix	aunijnes	wärme ijnesic
kapojtyi	kabajnix	kaijnes	
ipojtyi	ibajnix	oauiijnes (?)	
pojtyiob	ubajnonix	aunijinesob	
ich wärme aniton ijnes			
anitc aijnes			
anito uijnes			
anito kaijnes			
aniti ijnes			
anitob ijnes			

Proben einiger Chorti Sätze
Hacienda grande (Honduras):
ich gehe in mein Haus inic ta ni otot (1)
ich gehe nach Copan inxic Copan
ich kam von Pexha yopen Pexha
ich lösche des Feuer aus tajpé te k'ak
ich trete in das Haus meines Vaters oinchoy ti otot ni tata.
Ist dein Haus gross? no ta yotot?
Mein Weib hat den Mais gemahlen ni evuixcar ujjutyu pekum
Gibts Schnecken im Fluss? tyal ochoch ta noja
Hast Du viele Kinder? tyal mani evuaroh?
Das Wasser ist kalt insis è ha
Die Bohnen sind gut intzap è bur.
Ich habe die Bohnen gegessen incuxik è bur
Das Zuckerrohr ist süss inchi è sikab.
Der Mann hat Salz gekauft e yuinik umané atzam
El Obraje (Guatemala):
Die Leute gehen ins Dorf um Salz zu kaufen: vixin e vuinik ta chinam umani atzam
Wo ist der Mann? tyaxan e yuinik?
Komm hierher! lar tara!
In meinem Haus ist mein Mais ta nicvuotot hayan ni nar
Mein Weib hat Mais gemahlen und die Tortillas auf dem Comal geröstet, aber
der Hund frass die Tortillas ni evuixcar ujuchi[illegible] keum u muxmux e pa ta semet u uxi e pa e tzi.

(1) Rine nachläpige Sprechwesse Fu Obraje übersetzle man nür richteg: ich schlafe in meinem Haus nen incouayan ta nicvuotot.

CONJUGATIONSBEISPIELE AUS DEM POCOMAM VON JILOTEPEQUE

Præsens	*Præteritum*	*Futurum*
ich wärme nupajrij	ich wärmte inupajrij	ich werde wärmen nanvaja nupajonrij
Du wärmst naparij	hapajonrij	nanvaja happajonrij
er wärmt empavuirij	rupajonrij	nanroja rupajonrij
wir wärmen emkapajij	kapajonrij	nakoje kapajonrij
Ihr wärmet napaj tarij	hapajonrij	natavoja hapajonrij
sie wärmen emquepajrij	quipajonrij	nacojè quipajonrij

Præsens	*Præteritum*	*Futurum*
ich wasche intzajvue		
Du u. s. w. natzajom	nutzajom	navaje nutzajom
utzaj	hatzajom	navaje hatzajom
inkatzaj	rutzajom	naroju rutazajom
natzaj	hatzajom	nakojé hatzajom
quitzajvu	hatzajom	natanvaje hatzajom
	quizajom	nacoje quitzajom

Præsens	*Præteritum*	*Futurum*
ich will schreiben hincvua kinsirvé	ejvua rexinsirvé	nanvoje sirvo

Du u. s. w. navua tesirvé	xanvua etisirvé	nanvoje sirvo
hinrä hensirvé	ijra ejsirvé	naroje sirvo
inka kasirvé	ejka xajsirvé	nakojeka rekasirvé?
nanvua tatesirvé	xanvata etasirvé	natavoja sirvo
inka quesirvé	ejca xesirvé	nacojé sirvo

Præsens	*Præteritum*	*Futurum*	*Imperativ*
ich flechte namiánom	ejnoan	novaje noanam	
Du u. s. w. naanom	xaan	navage haanom	flechte chanher
narcanom	èancvue	narage roanom	
nakaanom	ejkaan	nakojo kaanom	
nataanom	xaanta	natavojé anom	flechtet chantalien
naqueanom	xeancvue	nacoje queanom	

Præsens	*Præteritum*	*Futurum*	*Imperativ*
Du u. s. w. hetvuilcat	xincvui (1)	nanvoje vui	
ich bin vuilquin	ticvui	nanvoje vui	
vuile	cvui	naroje vui	vuilcat
kojvuilkoj	xajvui	nakove vui	

(1) Das Einschalten von c vor vu ist in den Sprachen der Pocom-Gruppe häufig.

tavuilcat	tivuita	notanvoge vui	tanvuilcat
vuique	xuvui	nacoje cvui	

Præsens	*Præteritum*	*Futurum*	*Imperativ*
ich tödte nacamsa (1)	enucamsa	nanvoja núcamsam	
Du u. s. w. nacamsa	xacamsa	navajo hacamsam	cha camsa
narucamsa (m ?)	ejcamsinic	narojo camsinoc	
ejkacamsa	kacamsam	nakojé kecamsam	
natcamsata	tacamsam	natanvojé hacamsam	cha camsa ta het
hinticamsa	quicamsam	nacojé quicamsam	

Præsens	*Præteritum*	*Futu*	*Imparativ*
ich höre hincvuarej	vuaren	nanvojé cvuaren	
Du u. s. w. nacvuarej	hacvuaren	nanvojé hanvuaren	chavuarej
henucvuarej	ruvuaren	narojé ruvuaren	
henkacvuarej	kacvuaren	nakojé kacvuaren	
nancvuarej	cvuarenta	natacvuojé navuaren	chavuarejta
quicvuirené	quicvuaren	nacojé quicvuaren	

(1) Öfters hörte ich deutlich cansa, causam ; es ist dies offenbar nur nachläpsge Aussprache, von solche auch sonst häufig ist.

Proben einiger Pocomam-Sätze

ich sehe viele Häuser	hen hinevuilac maj pat
ich sehe Dich	hen tincauila yavua
Du siehst mich	het quinals yuhen
er sieht mich	re quirela
wir sehen Euch	koj tikilata
Ihr seht uns	heta kahala
sie sehen mich	retaque quiquela
ich gehe ins Haus	hen quinococo pan pat
es hat bei Nacht geregnet	ejru anjam chakam
Das Weib suchte seinen Mann	re ixok eruric ru pahil
De Hut ist geflochten	re panes anojché
Der Hutmacher	re enanevue panes
ich esse Tortillas	hen nukux evuiic
ich esse nichts	hen kuchuku nukux
ich trinke Wasser	hen hinkuquej ja
ich mahle Mais	hen nuqueej ixim
ich spreche mit Dir	hen nanukutaj havuchpeéh
ich falle auf den Boden	hen quinquejua pan acal
ich gehe aus dem Haus	hen quinelerajè pan pat
et tritt ein ins Haus seines Vaters	re enococo chiru pat rutat
Gibt es Eier zu kaufen ?	Vuile moloj rehen kalok ?
Es gibt keine.	nijam

TABLE DES MATIÈRES